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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2208



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THREAT OF WARFARE IN WEST AFRICA SEEN

Dakar AFRICA in French Dec 79 p 23

[Commentary by Lelouma Diallo: "Warning to West Africa"]

[Text] With some exceptions the states created from old French west Africa until now have escaped armed intervention by foreign powers and local uprisings, which are the logical and unavoidable result of such intervention.

This state of affairs would be cozy and pleasant if politics, which is by definition a precise science, did not impose on all collective knowledge certain limitations that prevent our celebrating victories won in this sphere as crowning achievements. For certain men who are not gifted with a strong intellect allowing them to grasp the many facets of life, this absence of a hot war in the French-speaking countries of west Africa is a final proof, an eternal gift from the heavens, a divine right, in short a kind of effective counterpart balanced against the unappeasable curse and destiny that have planted recurrent wars and conflicts everywhere else in Africa.

Reasoning in such Manichean fashion springs from irresponsibility or lack of awareness, if not both at the same time. In fact knowledge of events and everyday political practices must put us on our guard: the swinging movement of conquest or control of a people, such as it showed up in the operation of the two superpowers' strategy and that of their allies, unequivocally warned us that there is no region or state that is not the target of the complicated machinery of destabilization, either overt or hidden.

No region or state is any longer absolutely immune to the virus of foreign-originated disorder. Truthfully, this virus is reaching us, one could say at a violent and surprising gallop. Emanating from the Far East here it is at our door, in circumstances of doubtless fleeting tranquility, in the Republic of Chad, after having taken shape in bloody clusters of suffering in the countries of the African Horn and in the continent's central basin.

The center of gravity of clashes resulting from the will of several old powers or newly emergent ones to conquer the planet changes its basic pattern at a tremendous rhythm and follows unexpected routes. The path is indeed far from linear when from Saigon one finds these conflicts again simultaneously in Ogaden, in Shaba, in the Sahara, in Ndjamena, etc....

Will French-speaking west Africa be the next stage of this senseless run of bloody wars? A shock-question, even a disagreeable one if we judge it from the indignant reactions of certain west African leaders confronted, who nevertheless managed to hide their own panic with difficulty. Some signs, often domestic and characteristic of the regimes in the states of this area, impel an observer to fear the worst.

Among those signs that can serve as a pretext for or as a detonator of degenerate outbreaks leading to foreign intervention, we must first mention the accelerated break down of certain regimes, the savage intolerance demonstrated by others, the prejudicial edicts that afflict here whole ethnic groups and there an entire political generation or a university group, and finally social unrest, reflections of the injustices and inequalities that the wave of life in society carries along.

To this list of the immediate causes of dangers that threaten the relative peace, long maintained, of French-speaking west Africa, there are "experts" who are quick to add the proximity of Libya because its leader, President Qadhdhafi is openly accused of destabilizing transgressions and of supremacy designs of which the next victims would be Nigeria, Mali and Mauritania. Increasingly one even sees whole sections of opinion become fearful of the single thought that the Iranian revolution could extend the branches of its preaching through black Africa by showd use of Senegalese Islamic zeal.

But beyond these factors in the face of which no responsible west African can remain blind or immobilized, French-speaking west Africa however is not an empty space or an unoccupied piece of property. It has undeniable chances to resist attempts to break it up. In the first place, its two most important opportunities, those which accumulate the most tangibly contagious results, are on the one hand pursuit of Ivorian economic growth and on the other hand increased strength resulting from a multiparty democracy in Senegal and in Upper Volta.

These three countries, each one according to its political methods, its manner of administration, its geopolitical position, presents a model demonstration of the way we have dreamed of living freedom. In this regard these countries form the indispensable base that must not vacillate or crumble, so that we may keep inviolable our energy as a human community and the hope that all hopes do not disappear in a spate of clashes.

Another chance, not the least, to protect French-speaking west Africa from the forces of destruction is the awareness it has and asserts of being condemned to live united or to perish separately. Within this framework the West African Economic Community (CEAO) as much as the Organization for Developing the Senegal River (OMVS) offer to our populations' need for security the support of a resistance force on several levels.

In the face of an advance of disruptive forces on nations there exists only one maneuver to maintain and extend peace in west Africa, which is expressed in two words: democracy-development. Fortification or establishment of domestic democracy, and acceleration of national and regional development: this is the major battle that French-speaking west Africa must wage--and win--between the possible (its strengths) and the unallowable (intervention).

9945

CSO: 4400

PRESIDENT CLOSES THIRD CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Cotonou EHUZU in French 2 Jan 80 pp 1,3

[Text] Last Saturday the work of the Second Session of the Third Central Committee meeting of our avant-garde party, Benin's PRP [People's Revolution Party] was concluded in Cotonou.

Satisfied with the results produced by the said work, our great comrade in the struggle, President Kerekou, was to exhort the Central Committee's members to increase their vigilance "in that our sworn common enemy, internal imperialism, has not disarmed even though in Asia, in Latin America and especially in Africa, it is suffering ever more bitter defeats."

"That is why," he was to go on, "we must rationally apply the "unity-criticism-unity" principle to win ever more decisive victories in all spheres and at all 1σ is."

Comrades, members of the Central Committee,

Comrades in the struggle.

Opened on 26 December 1979, we have just finished today, 29 December 1979, the work of the Second Session of the Third Central Committee meeting of our avant-garde party, Benin's PRP.

Thus for 4 days of mature and thorough reflection, we accomplished solid work that enabled us to obtain positive results which, without any false modesty, once again are worthy of our hard-working militant people, of our revolution and our revolutionary state.

Therefore it pleases us to congratulate you warmly, comrades, members of the Central Committee, for the quality of your work which is a continuation of the resolutions, recommendations and motions adopted by our First National Regular Congress held from 13 to 18 November 1979.

In fact, since our First National Regular Congress, our party, Benin's PRP, assigned us this task:

Learning from the past, correcting our mistakes and eliminating our inadequacies, to make possible an ever more consistent, harmonious and more thorough development of our democratic and popular revolution;

Setting up within our party appropriate and functional structures and making all the members of the Central Committee aware of their responsibilities so that our party, Benin's PRP may fully exercise its rights without any obstacles and correctly assume its duties of leadership, orientation and control over the entire national life of our people, the hard working revolutionary people of The People's Republic of Benin;

Implanting more deeply our party, Benin's PRP, amid our people, the valiant people of Benin's People's Republic, so as to preserve and develop in an uninterrupted way the "genuine, pure and social" nature of our democratic and popular revolution.

To sum up, it is mainly a matter for us, those responsible for leading our party, as for all of its other members, to consolidate, strengthen and develop our party's organizational and ideological unity, to create intimate ties with the people so as to avoid political, economic and socio-cultural adventurism while scrupulously respecting the three starce laid down by our party at the time of its First National Extraordinary Congress held from 15 to 17 May 1976 and confirmed by the First National Regular Congress held from 13 to 18 November 1979, i.e.:

The stages of the Revolutionary Movement for National biberation;

The stage of a popular democracy;

The stage of the socialist revolution.

For the Building of a New Society

Comrades, members of the Central Committee,

Fighting comrades,

Democratic centralism, the mass line, criticism and self-criticism, are intangible principles of Marxism-Leninism, the respect for and rational implementation of which under all circumstances will guarantee for us the protection of our unity within our party and will enable us to insure our party's indispensable close liaison with the popular masses of our town and country-side, and to lead our people and their revolution to final victory, that is, the building of a new society composed of justice, abundance and prosperity; in short, a new society completely and finally rid of the exploitation of man by man.

Of course all the internal and external enemies of our revolution, the Benin democratic, popular revolution, are always seeking the most cynical and most criminal ways of defeating our 26 October 1979 revolutionary movement of

national liberation. All of these diabolical but vain attempts by all of those cowardly and vile enemies of our people, the intrepld revolutionary people of Benin's People's Republic are certainly bound to fail as long as our democratic and people's Republic are certainly bound to fail as long as our democratic and people revolution is and remains the national steadfast will of all the inventible Benin people resolutely determined since 30 November 1972 to rid themselves of political oppression, economic exploitation and cultural alienation and at all forms of intertribal and interregional contradictions.

In this respect, comrades, members of the Central Committee, the rational implementation of the provisions of our Basic Law and the gradual and methodical installation of all the new resolutionary institutions stemming from it are so many victories we are similar every day at the level of strengthening our source goty and in democratizing the government of the state in our country, in the Ferrile's Republic of Benin.

on the trail to the real independence and national sovereignty of our dear and resulting country, the reale's Republic of Benin, as on the road to democratizing the protected of our revolutionary state, we have greatly appreciated for resolutionary of the Central Committee, to find the appreciate boundary and plans of guaranteeing and speeding up the economic growth and sectionalized belopment of our country, the People's Republic of Benin.

That is why, it to the of the open got the current session of the Third Central Committee meeting that we allowing today, we said our revolution was taking a decisive turning in the action of the steady building of our party for the purpose of giving its structures a more dynamic and more effective organizational life. Thus all of our national revolutionary structures whether political, economic, social or cultural, can experience a normal functioning for the purpose of a continued growth of the effective and active participation of our hard working militant people in our country's national life and do so in conformity with the resolutions of our First National Regular Congress.

Rationally Applying the Revolutionary Principle "Unity-Criticism-Unity"

Omrades, members of the Central Committee

Figitims comrades,

The intratulating you once again for the seriousness with which for 4 days we carried out the work entrusted to you, we are not recently to remain ever vigilant inth night and day, to be ever extremely vigilant in that are summon sworm enemy, international imperialism, has not laid down its are even though it is suffering ever more titter defeats in Asia, Latin increase and Africa in particular.

That in way we must rationally apply the revolutionary principle "Unity-Criticism-Unity," to win again and always more declared unity in all spheres and at all lawds.

So let us forge ahead, increasingly close our ranks every day and steadily developing a great party spirit and one of sincere comradeship!

Let us make a point with the greatest vigilance of deserving the trust of our militant working people by correcting and diligently performing all the ongoing tasks entrusted to us by our party and our revolutionary state!

Comrades, members of the Central Committee,

Fighting comrades,

It is with these militant commitments that we declare the Second Session of the Third Central Committee meeting of our avant-garde party, Benin's PRP, closed.

To all of you, comrades, members of the Third Central Committee, we very sincerely wish a safe return to your respective homes and greater success in all of your revolutionary activities on your various struggle fronts.

To conclude, we want to address to you, to you and all comrades, members of your families, my best wishes for a Good and Happy New Year in 1980.

Scientific socialism is our road to development!

Marxism-Leninism is our philosophic guide!

Death to traitors!

Death to mercenaries!

Ready for the revolution!

The struggle goes on.

8094

CSO: 4400

THIRD CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING'S FINAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

Cotonou EHUZU in French 2 Jan 80 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Third Central Committee meeting of Benin's RPR [People's Revolution Party] held its second regular session on 26,27,28 and 29 December 1979 at Cotonou under the able chairmanship of our great fighting comrade, Mathieu Kerekou, chairman of the Central Committee.

During that second session devoted mainly to studying our country's internal problems the Third Central Committee meeting also had to analyze the international situation. In particular, it had to study and approve:

The functional structures of the Third Central Committee meeting;

The programming of the tasks relating to installing the National Revolutionary Assembly.

At the International Level

The Central Committee noted that despite the persistent worsening of the world-wide economic crisis and imperialism's increased criminal aggressiveness, the international situation at the present time remains especially favorable to the strong development of the unyielding struggle of the peoples of the world for freedom, peace and social progress. It is within that context that the resounding victories of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and Western Sahara fit in their heroic struggle for the conquest of national independence, democracy and social justice.

At the National Level

The second session of the Third Central Committee meeting assessed with satisfaction the new prospects that are opening up for consolidating and developing the achievements of our great revolutionary movement for national liberation on the road to a popular democracy right after the brilliant victory which the militant participation of all our working people at the general elections of 20 November 1979 and the massive approval of the single national list of the People's Commissars to the National Revolutionary Assembly represent.

To face up effectively to all of the requirements stemming from this new national situation, the Third Central Committee meeting of Benin's PRP, during its second regular session took measures aimed at improving and strengthening the party's organization and its capacity to lead the revolutionary struggle of our militant people in implementing the correct decisions of the First Regular National Congress.

The Central Committee also studied and decided upon the practical ways to establish the new institutions. After convoking and hearing the ad hoc committee of the National Council of the Revolution responsible for electoral disputes, it invited its members to speed up their work and submit their conclusions without delay so as to enable the National Revolutionary Council to reach a final decision and thereby open the way to the speedy installation of the National Revolutionary Assembly.

In addition, the second session of the Third Central Committee meeting decided to place the production festival this year under the theme of criticism and objective and constructive self-criticism.

Consequently, an in depth and thorough study of the management of the offices, of all our state and semi-public firms will be undertaken before presenting the national production balance sheet for 1979.

After hearing the National Committee for the Balance Sheet, the Central Committee decided that the national production festival will take place in two phases:

1. On 31 December 1979 from 0900 to 1200 hours there will take place:

In all production units, under the chairmanship of the directing committees, a collective consideration as to the ways and means to be applied for the purpose of improving the returns from the production units.

At the level of the local collectivities, under the chairmanship of the Revolutionary Administrative Committees of the district, a session on the receipts obtained an on the use made of them.

2. On 31 January 1980 a critical national balance sheet of our country's economy will be initiated.

Finally, the Third Central Committee was informed of the decision made by the special Criminal Court which had to go into the matter of Aina Firmin, agent of the Benin Commercial Bank and whose dossier was studied by the Council of Ministers at its 28 December 1979 meeting.

The Central Committee took official cognizance of this information.

To perform in revolutionary order, discipline and vigilance all of the tasks of the current stage, the Central Committee of the PRP of Benin issues a militant, patriotic and revolutionary appeal to all of our valiant and hard

working people so they will rise up as one man under the leadership of their party with a view to blocking the way to all of our internal and external enemies so as to safeguard and consolidate the achievements of our democratic and popular revolution.

Let us forge ahead to reinforce and implant our avant-garde party, the party of Benin's People's Revolution among the popular masses!

Let us forge ahead for the rational implementation of the basic law with a view to democratizing the state's government!

Immortal glory to Benin's People's Republic!

Immortal glory to Benin's People's Revolution Party!

Immortal glory to the martyrs of the Benin revolution!

Ready for the revolution!

The struggle goes on.

Cotonou, 29 December 1979

Second session of the Third Central Committee Meeting

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CSO: 4400

COUNTRY SECTION CONGO

FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF CSC CONFEDERAL COUNCIL PUBLISHED

Brazzaville ETUMBA in French 18 Dec 79 pp 6, 7

[Text] The regular meeting of the Confederal Council of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation [CSC] was held in Brazzaville from 6 to 9 December 1979. For three consecutive days, the councillors reviewed the activities of the Executive Confederal Commission during their meetings.

At the end of the proceedings, a motion of support was sent to the PCT [Congolese Labor Party] Central Committee and its chairman, Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso. The councillors also adopted a resolution on labor, socialist emulation and work control.

At the same time, a recommendation was carried pertaining to retired agents, the state budget, the Congolese Furniture Company (SOCOME) and union shops.

Below will be found in their entirety the final communique and resolution on labor, socialist emulation and work control.

Final Communique

In pursuance of by-laws provisions, especially Article 24, the proceedings of the regular meeting of the Confederal Council of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation were held in Brazzaville from 6 to 9 December 1979, under the chairmanship of Comrade Bokamba-Yangouma, member of the Political Bureau, head of the Organization Department and Secretary General of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation.

Alongside our comrade, the member of the Political Bureau and head of the Organization Department, were our comrades Victor Tamba-Tamba, keeper of the seals and minister of justice and labor, representing the government, and Serge Raymond Mviri, head of the People's Organization Division; they are both members of the Central Committee. Their presence made clear the importance of

these meetings held against the prospect of a particularly serious economic crisis.

On a proposal from the Presidium, the Confederal Council adopted the agenda for the meeting in progress which included the following points:

- 1. Adoption of rules of procedure;
- 2. Review of the activity report of COCONEX [CSC Executive Committee];
- 3. Review of the report from the Confederal Control Commission;
- 4. Adoption of the 1980 program of activities;
- 5. Miscellaneous items.

Prior to beginning its own work, the Confederal Council, on behalf of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, was eager to recognize the outstanding results achieved by the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Congolese Labor Party, a historical congress for more than one reason.

The Confederal Council also rejoiced over the complete trust which the political leadership of our country continues to bestow upon it. This trust was made concrete through the promotion of its secretary general to member of the Political Bureau and the access of other union leaders—three of them members of the Permanent Secretariat—to the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party. They are: Comrades Alphonse Ondonda, Ossebi—Cho, Jean Gamboumba—Moukengue and Charles Madzous.

Furthermore, the political leadership expressed its constant solicitude by granting workers a large number of representatives. Thus, out of 153 seats on the People's National Assembly, 33 went to their representatives, three of whom were elected to the Bureau of that institution. They are: Comrades Douniam Ossebi, first vice president; Michel Dzabato Babo, first secretary; and Antoine Foutou, second secretary.

The election of many of our union militants to the various local People's Assemblies may be viewed in the same context.

Strengthened by the political leadership's trust, the Confederal Council took this opportunity to recall that, in pursuance of their pledge of loyalty of 18 March 1978, the Congolese workers--organized within the Congolese Trade Union Confederation--still remain available to bring victory to the ideals of the Three Glorious Days of Augusut 1963.

Taking up the study of the documents submitted for its approval, especially the activity report of COCONEX, the Council analyzed with particular care the 14 August 1979 acceptance s, each of our comrade from the Central Committee. The speech centered on four major issues, namely:

national policy with, in the background, national unity and unity around and within the party;

the economic situation, essentially directed toward the outside;

the socio-economic situation characterized by the disparity between the people's behavior, their needs and deep aspirations; and

the reaffirmation of the Congolese people's African vocation in matter of foreign policy.

Due to the importance of that document, the Confederate Council adopted the speech of our comrade, the chairman of the Central Committee, as a working document and decided it would see to its wide distribution among the rank and file.

Strengthened by these doctrines, the Confederal Council adopted various reports at the end of fruitful and highly ideological debates which expressed the union leadership's awareness of current economic preoccupations.

Aware of the deep and lasting nature of this crisis—as expressed through a steady increase in unemployment and the constant disintegration of the workers' purchasing power, both factors aggravated by an empiric management of the state companies—, the Confederal Council resolutely pledged to do its utmost to implement the measures of economic recovery laid by the political leadership. Consequently, the Confederal Council was pleased with the decision to organize a national conference on the status of state companies.

In adopting the 1980 program of activities, the Confederal Council consistantly drew its inspiration from the directives and guidelines given by our comrade, the chairman of the Central Committee, in his acceptance speech of 14 August 1979. In that respect, appropriate measures were drawn to promote intense productive work and set up a system of socialist emulation and work control.

The Confederal Council studied and approved the organization's budget for 1980.

Concerning the miscellaneous items: recognizing the services which some comrades rendered to the organization, the Confederal Council was eager to congratulate and thank them officially on the occasion of their retirement. To allow the services affected by these departures to operate normally, the Council instituted the following changes:

Executive Confederal Commission

List of COCONEX members

- 1 Bokamba-Yangouma (Fetrasseic [expansion unknown])
- 2 Albert Kouba-Keita (Festragem [expansion unknown])
- 3 Sylvestre Mbongo (Fesytralim [expansion unknown])
- 4 Alphonse Ondonda (Fetrasseic)
- 5 Koulimaya Messe-Ambia (Fesytrasas [expansion unknown])
- 6 Moufouma-Okia (Fesitrasas [expansion unknown])
- 7 Jean-Richard Bongo (Fetrasseic)
- 8 Joseph Gampouo (Fetramip [expansion unknown])

- 9 Jean Moundele (Fesytrat [expansion unknown])
- 10 Ossebi-Oko (Fesypostel [expansion unknown])
- 11 Fulbert Maba-Bikouya (Fesytralim)
- 12 Romain Koubemba (Fesytralim)
- 14 [sic] Ikounga Moungala (Fesytraf [expansion unknown])
- 15 Jean-Marie Moutou (Festracom [expansion unknown])
- 16 Mpassi-Moueko (Fesytralim)
- 17 Bernard Makaya (Festragem)
- 18 Anatole Mboungou (Festragem)
- 19 Jacques Bombete (Fetrasseic)
- 20 Dominique Bouhouayi (Fesytralim)
- 21 Isabelle Bokatola (Fesytrat)
- 22 Raymond Dombi (Fesytrasas)
- 23 Henriette Diatoulou (Fesytref [expansion unknown])
- 24 Daniel Mongo (Fesytralim)
- 25 Joachim Boulamba (Fetrasseic)
- 26 Jean-Pierre Yama (Fesytral [expansion unknown])
- 27 Angelique Kouamala (Fesytref)
- 28 Arsene Mbika (Fesytraf)
- 19 Henri-Nicolas Moukouama (Fesytrasmas [expansion unknown])
- 30 Remy-Victor Okandze (Fetramip)
- 31 Basile Tsambou (Fesytramf [expansion unknown])
- 32. Joseph Kenakale (Fesybac [expansion unknown])
- 33 Albert Andzouana (Fesytref)
- 34 Jean Sabou (Fesybatrap [expansion unknown])
- 35 François Lekaka (Fesybac)

Confederal Control Commission

Chairman: Louis-Charles Loembet
Deputy chairman: Francois Ndeke
First secretary: Martin Mayela
Second secretary: Pierre Mbe
Third secretary: Louise Dzia

The results achieved can help foresee the steadfast progress of the Congolese trade Union Confederation. Most of all, they express the degree of maturity of our organization.

In this regard, the Council was eager to congratulate COCONEX for its organization and the successes achieved. However, the Confederal Council insisted on a strengthening of the COCONEX spirit of combativeness in view of the economic crisis suffered by the country.

The agenda having been exhausted, the Confederal Council attentively followed the survey of the political situation presented by our comrade, the member of the Political Bureau and secretary general of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation.

With regard to national policy, the Council expressed satisfaction with the victories being continually achieved by the Party since the 5 February 1979 Movement. Consequently, the Council was anxious to reiterate its lasting support to the Committee of the Congolese Labor Party and its chairman, Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso, faithful companion-in-arms of the immortal Marien Ngouabi.

The Confederal Council also conveyed warm congratulations to COCONEX for its very influential and responsible initiative, i.e., the shift among the rank and file of our comrade, the member of the Political Bureau, head of the Organization Department and secretary general of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, and the other members of the Permanent Secretariat. The Council invited COCONEX to continue to extend this experiment to all sectors of activity in all the regions.

With regard to foreign policy, the Confederal Council warmly greeted the laudable efforts undertaken together by Presidents Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, Mathieu Kerekou of Benin and Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo for a solution to the Chadian crisis and the restoration of peace in that country, in accordance with the historical mission which the Organization of African Unity entrusted to them.

Faithful to proletarian internationalism and highly preoccupied by the situation of workers still struggling throughout the world for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism, the Confederal Council was eager to reaffirm its firm support to their just cause.

The Council also took this opportunity to express its active solidarity to the world's working class in its struggle for the establishment of social justice and peace.

Submitted in Brazzaville, 9 Lecember 1979

The Confederal Council

Resolution Pertaining to Work, Socialist Emulation and Work Gentrol

Whereas the Congolese Labor Party is the vanguard of the Congolese working class;

Whereas the declaration of 12 December 1975:

Whereas the state companies set up by the Revolution for a rational economic struggle, are not only failing but also jeopardizing the people's will to continue the struggle for economic freedom;

Whereas one of the great ills suffered by our state companies and our public administrations remains the lack of a scientific organization of labor;

Whereas the most rational distribution of labor allows increased labor productivity;

Whereas the establishment of a wage system prorated to the quality and quantity of accomplished work is one of the conditions of increased labor productivity;

The Confederal Council of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation meeting in Brazzaville from 6 to 9 December 1979, invites all the Congolese workers to show more combativeness for economic recovery through the establishment of discipline in work sites and the systematic and strict application of the determinant trilogy.

Recommends:

The creation of a coherent system of socialist emulation in all the state companies and public administrations.

Demands the implementation of a work control system in all spheres production.

Submitted in Brazzaville, 9 December 1979

The Confederal Council

6857

CS0: 4400

BUYO DAM NEARS COMPLETION

Abidjan FRATERNITE-MATIN in French 15 Nov 79 pp 1, 11

[Article by Hien Solo Soro]

[Text] A region that was formerly underprivileged, Buyo will, starting next year he a veritable development center thanks to the hydroelectric dam which is being built there. The area involved is two-thirds that of Kossou, that is, approximately 900 square km [of flooded land] at the high water level. The point is that the purpose of this dam is not only to increase our country's energy potential but also and especially to help the development of the Buyo district and the increase in peasants' incomes through the quantitative and qualitative development of agriculture and other forms of economic activities.

The Buyo dam on which work will be completed in February 1980 will enable this southwestern part of the country to become a veritable development center.

Indeed, tesia's electric energy, the construction of this dam will make it possible to provide dement housing to the riparian population and to increase their incomes through the introduction of new, profitable cultivation methods.

Similarly, fishing will be developed thanks to the artificial lake of 900 square km which represents an important protein-rich reserve. This new activity is based on the experience acquired at Kossou and will make it possible to supply some 6,000 tons of fish a year and to train about 12,000 fishermen.

The dry crops program will on its part be completed subsequently by a small improvement program of low-lying land downstream for rice cultivation, that is. 400 improved hectares.

Indeed, the Buyo dam will create a water reservoir with a capacity of 8.4 billion pubic meters of which 7 billion cubic meters are serviceable. This reservoir will flood the town of Buyo, but that of Guiglo will be surrounded by water only in part.

In addition, a certain number of villages will have to be cleared because their land will be partially or totally flooded.

And in the normal frame of its authority, ARSO [Southwest Region Development Authority], the prime contractor for the project, is charged with the operation of clearing and resettlement of the displaced inhabitants and of the intregral reconstitution of the agricultural potential.

The minister of agriculture, Denis Bra Kanon, went to that region last week to meet the peasants and give them the facts about this new agricultural area and also to decide jointly with the heads of ARSO that a bipartisan lator committee (Ministry of Agriculture and ARSO) should be established as soon as possible. The task of this committee will be to prepare documents which include the agreements setting the terms of the relationship to tween the two parties for the short-run programs and those to follow later without however omitting the special agreements that could exist between aRSO and the various assistance organizations in the field (ONPR [Tational Office for Rural Development], SATMACI [Technical Assistance Company for the Agricultural Modernization of the Ivory Coast], etc.)

The total population to the displaced comes to 14,636 individuals for whom it is noted any to reconstitute the agricultural crops, notably, their for representations. Subsequently, this program could be completed to the laying out of an appropriate low-lying land area for the cultivation of rice, that is, 400 improved hectares.

report of ARS notes that food grops will to grown together with perential grops "thus making it possible to achieve food self-sufficiency in the new villages in short order."

In requestly, an intensive system of fooi production tased on the results of experiments under way will be generalized in the context of the "Statilization of Food Crops in the Southwest" program.

with "Robusta" vegetable material while waiting that SATMACI should be in a position to provide to the growers all the guarantees on the production to make a few "Arabusta" clips. It should be noted that cocoa is militared very little, soil appropriate for growing this commodity being fulfil; rare in the region.

In mitable Habitat

The emptruction of bousing has begun. Theoretically, ARSO will thus set in the villages for the displaced in abitants. Some of the villages are already completed. Without exaggerating, this housing in many respects can be taken for cattle pens. Barely functional, these buildings do not have the colitity of those involved in operation Koscou.

Some will tell us that the project was realized as a function of the bulketary constraints imposed on ARSO. This argument is as good as any other-

Let us hope that through new economic activities the peasants will to a: le to have sufficient revenues to enable them to acquire more appropriate and more sanitary housing.

The artificial lake of 900 square km created by the Buyo dam represents a: important protein-rich reserve for the riparian inhabitants. The handling of this reserve modeled on the Kossou experiment will make it possible to supply about 6,000 tons of fish a year and to train approximately 12,000 fishermen. These protein-rich resources will feed 150,000 individuals and will yield aggregate revenue in the order of 700 million CFA francs a year.

This is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable activities which, together with agriculture, will underlie the development of the Buyo region. That is why the BNDA [National Agricultural Development Bank] will approve the financing of the fish-farming program of Buyo lake in the context of its assistance to small peasants. But for that, the general manager of that bank hopes to see the necessary long-term planning involving all the officials concerned by this operation in order to extend the assistance policy for small fishermen.

With the development of San Pedro, the promising future of Grand Bereby with its extensive agricultural and perhaps tourist programs, and the opening up of Buyo, the southwestern region is slated to witness very remarkable progress.

2112

C.R: 4400

MAN PEDRO PORT ARRANGEMENTS DESCRIBED

Abidjan FRATERNITE-MATIN in French 5 Dec 79 p 12

[Article by A. Bassole]

[Text] The new piers of the autonomous port of San Pedro, the final cost for which aggregates nearly 5.4 billion CFA francs-the Federal Republic of Germany has financed nearly 67 percent of this total-were inaugurated last Friday in this locality under the presidency of Lamine Fadika, minister of navy and merchant marine.

Desires the political and administrative authorities of San Pedro, the ambassadors of France and the Federal Republic of Germany, the members of the toard of directors of said port, several shipowhers, as well as many other guests attended this inauguration ceremony.

in this organion, too, the Minister of Navy bestowed distinctions on 24 workers of the port of San Pedro.

Let us also note that on Thursday, late in the afternoon, the boars of alrestors of the autonomous port of San Pedro had met under the presidency of Emmanuel Dioulo.

During their meeting the directors approved the budget bill for 1979-80 three revenues and expenditures balance at 1,771,910,000 CFA francs.

The satting into service of these new 400 meters of piers, of which one continuous pier of 45 meters dredged over 180 meters at a depth of 11 meters and of 12 meters over 405 meters, makes it possible to berth from four to five vessels depending on their size.

The largest freighters plying the West African coast can have access to the port round the clock without any difficulty.

These projects also make it possible to increase threefold the possibilities of storing freight in the port area which was increased from 3 hectares to nearly 9 hectares.

There various improvements which more than double the port's potential as regards traffic other than lumber constitute a major stage in the port's development process and will enable it to handle the intensified traffic in the next 5 years.

The projects will be completed beginning next year with construction of a facility on piles slated for clinker traffic and with a warehouse-slip of 5,000 square meters behind the new piers.

The port of San Pedro can thus handle nearly 2 million tons of which less than half represents lumber.

New Developments

The importance of the port of San Pedro is no longer to be demonstrated. On this score Minister Lamine Fadika was explicit: "It clearly appears," he said, "that the extension of the piers to 460 meters occurs at the right time, all the more so as new developments are taking place relating to talk freight traffic: Clinker, wheat, and packaged goods."

For Minister Fadika the ultimate goal of our overall maritime policy is to strive to minimize transportation costs in order to reduce inflationary pressures for imported products and to strengthen the competitive capacity of lyorian exports on foreign markets.

For Emmanuel Dioulo, the chairman of the board of directors of the autonomous port of San Fedro, it is now essential that each one should become aware of that port's potentials.

Emmanuel Dioulo noted like the minister that businessmen will have to learn to use this tool with which the Ivory Coast has endowed itself to minimize the final cost of the transportation of their products.

Four Berths at the Piers

With four berths now at the piers instead of two, the port will be able to pursue a genuine policy of commercial prospecting among the businessmen settled in the hinterland.

Additionally, one of the goals of the port of San Pedro is to seek greater diversification of its traffic, its excessive dependence on wood (lumber and cut wood) being one of its weaknesses.

In the short term then this diversification will be enhanced by two projects:

1. The clinker crushing plant: One facility built on piles is planned for this plant which will enter service in 1981. Its capacity will be from 300,000 to 400,000 tons of cement a year.

This plant is very important for the port of San Pedro for it will make it possible to insure freight loads back from San Pedro for the trucks which bring ...wn produce (notably coffee and cocoa) to San Pedro.

A flour mill will also enter into service in 1981. Its capacity will be 30,000 tons of flour a year. This traffic will be handled by the extreme northern end of the western piers.

In the intermediate and long term let us say that the development of the port of San Pedro will depend on the improvement of two aspects: Its port-hinterland links and the production of the agricultural industrial plantations (coffee and cocoa, oil palm products, and para rubber) laid out or in the process of being created in the southwest.

Regarding the first item it should be noted that the asphalting of the San Fedro-Soubre-Issia-Man road is one important factor in the development of the southwest.

The San Pedro-Tabou road, the repair of which will get underway soon, will make it possible to channel to San Pedro all the products from the Bas Cavally region.

In process of completion, the San Fedro-Man-Odienne road will be the spinal cori of trade with the western region of the country and in the long term the principal trade thoroughfare with the Republic of Mali.

regards the second aspect, let us note that two coffee-cocoa packing plants are located in San Pedro: SHAC [expansion unknown] and UNICO [?Cooperative Union].

SHAC was endowed with new facilities in 1976 and its present production stands around 15,000 tons.

The UNICO plant was put into service at the close of 1976. Its production will be increased to 80,000 tons in 1979-80 and can reach 100,000 tons by 1932.

San Fedro will thus be able to handle a large part of the coffee and cocca produced in the hinterland, estimated at between 150,000 and 200,000 tons in 1980.

Outlook for 1985.

The port of San Fedro now has essentially six anchoring berths for the loading of lumber, four berths at piers for miscellaneous freight, and one oil-loading station.

Traific estimates flowing from realizations and projects of the southwest make it possible to anticipate by 1985 six anchoring berths, six berths at

piers, one clinker station (to be placed into service in 1981), one pier berth for paper pulp, and one oil-loading station.

By 1985 the existing water area will be insufficient to accommodate more than 15 vessels simultaneously while retaining a sufficiently large water storage area.

This situation has thus prompted the port officials to study a master plan that would make possible the rational installation of equipment and the harmonious integration of the port into the "urban" and industrial context.

Studies concerning the laying out of the first stage of the inner harbor will be effected in 1980-81.

2662

CSO: 4400

COOPERATION WITH LIBYA REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 26 Dec 79 pp 1, 2

[Text] The third meeting of the joint Libyan-Malagasy commission concluded its work Saturday evening. The meetings were closed with the signing of the official erports of this third round of preliminary talks. The decisions were signed on the Malagasy side by the director general of Planning, Rajaona Andriamananjary and on the Libyan side by the delegation's deputy chief.

The ceremony was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Libyan delegation was headed by Ahmed Alatraha, deputy secretary of technical affiars at the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Malagasy delegation by Minister Christian Remi Richard, head of Malagasy diplomacy.

In his closing address, Rajacna Andriamananjary stated that this joint Libyan-Malagasy commission meeting was the third after that of Tripoli which took place last year. He talked of the results of its work and of the official reports made during the commission's meeting which he summed up as follows: "We had to review the spheres of cooperation between the two countries, in particular the economic, cultural and trade spheres. We were also able to study the spheres of cooperation which can exist in the future."

And the director of Planning was much more explicit on the cultural sphere. The two countries can exchange scholarship holders, information, trainees and technicians beginning in 1980. The creation of an Arab language department was raised at this joint commission meeting. Then Rajaona Andriamananjary affirmed that the Libyan side presented a list of projects that will be studied by its partner.

The Malagasy Government will transmit its decision later, he added. Let us note that the Libyan delegation left the capital on Sunday.

8094

CSO: 4400

MADAGASCAR

PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR ADDRESS REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 2 Jan 80 and 3 Jan 80

[2 Jan 80 pp 1,2]

[Text] This time the traditional presidential end of the year address had been long awaited. The whole country held its breath Sunday evening to listen to its eminent leader, President Didier Ratsiraka, present it his good wishes.

It was a speech surprising for its sobriety and realism. Sobriety, even modesty, for the president of the Republic did not give himself the pleasure of enumerating the RDM's [Democratic Republic of Madagascar] many achievements and even passed over in silence the enourmous successes Madagascar won in 1979 on the international scene.

It was an address bearing rather the stamp of political realism and just plain realism in the sense that the standpoint that the chief of the revolutionary state spent a long time on the difficulties that Madagascar is experiencing at the present time adding to them in each instance objective explanations: agricultural disaster, thefts of oxen, fuel, transport, even unemployment.

At this time of drawing up balance sheets, here is a speech which provides grist for the mill of those who don't just talk but who work for the triumph of the revolution keeping their feet solidly on the ground.

The Chief of State's Message to the Nation

On the occasion of the end of 1979 and on the eve of 1980, President Didier Ratsiraka, the eminent leader of the Malagasy people addressed a message to the Malagasy people broadcast by the RTM [Malagasy Radio-Television].

The following is a free translation of that message:

"Malagasy People,

"It was with joy that we began this year which is about to end and the celebrations, for the International Year of the Child measured up to the love

we have for our children. We were inspired by courage in the face of the tasks and responsibilities we had to assume in directing the affairs of state and of the popular government. The progress seen in the economic sphere, as well as in the efforts made with a view to increasing production, along with those aimed at realizing the major projects scattered throughout the island, are encouraging. But the days and months followed one after the other bringing joys and setbacks in turn. The negative side seemed to carry the day: Indeed, the drought was severe, virtually destroying the work undertaken in the country-side, the farmers found themselves in difficulty for they lost their crops and thus saw themselves deprived of their sources of income. Among the damage suffered one can cite in particular the decreased production of vanilla which was barely enough to export. At Tulear, several homes were destroyed, farming equipment was damaged, the great majority of the crops were lost. And because of cyclones, damage that could not be repaired right away took place. The tonnage of the crops gathered dropped, property, on which a lot of money was spent, was destroyed, rice imports had to be augmented to make it possible to supply the population. Finally prices went up thereby increasing the cost of living, the outcome of disturbances attributable to an organization founded on egoism and to the structures of domination imposed on international relations by the developed countries, financially, commercially and economically.

The Government Established by the People Faced Up to Its Duties

But despite those difficulties which appeared in the form of ordeals, the government established by the people faced up to its duties by steadily developing the economy, by defending the broad masses' standard of living, by providing solutions to problems and especially by protecting those who are still working to have their place in the sun. In the course of this year that is coming to an end, we have all undertaken an implacable struggle. But we have proved by our will, by our responsible attitude and by the courage we have demonstrated in the face of difficulties that even if some phenomena still exist at the present time that we are unable to master, that cannot shake our determination to struggle for our survival and to establish a new way of life.

Building up supplies was one of the issues having priority and we can objectively state that except in a few regions where acts of sabotage were committed, supplies, especially rice, presented no special problems as used to happen in the past.

It was necessary to utilize the various sources of electric power so as not to disrupt the functioning of industries, purify and facilitate the distribution of the water necessary for households and agriculture.

Transportation Improvements

It was also necessary to improve the field of every kind of transport. Because of the important place they have in our national life and economy. And, despite the rise in the cost of petroleum attributable to the devaluation of

the powerful countries' currencies. We cid not run into many difficulties in obtaining supplies of various types of fuel and lubricants for the economic sectors. However, the impact on our national economy and our foreign currency reserves was a very heavy one to bear. In fact, we had to pay 70 percent above their normal rate for refined products. But since the efforts to build up production requiring imports of materials could not be halted, we were therefore constrained to raise the prices of fuels and of the various lubricants so that they might match the actual prime costs. For, although petroleum prices were greatly increased [words missing in French text]... covered the differences in costs. We were able to do so thanks to the nationalizations we carried out. But this time the efforts to build and produce were the ones that would have been effected had we closed our eyes to the need to face up to that inevitable expenditure. This increase, as we know only too well, had the same effect on all items and hence on the cost of living.

[3 Jan 80 p 3]

[Text] So it is up to us to steel ourselves, to tighten our belts, to make all of our efforts bear fruit, in particular those relating to increasing and improving production in the various spheres. For that is the only solution to prevent the standard of living from dropping and the only action to take for the building of an economy equitably distributed and beneficial to everyone.

Perseverance

Adversity nearly won out, but we were neither discouraged nor crushed. On the contrary, we held out, staked everything we had. Unfortunately, this country is not yet rid of its bad elements, the oxen thieves are doing their utmost to destroy cattle-raising and commit assassinations that so greatly distress those who allow themselves to be affected. The leaders and the people nevertheless did not allow themselves to be intimidated for the stakes are large, therefore we are no longer content to go after those malefactors but have declared war on them. Whoever has sinned by the sword, will perish by the sword. Bursh fires also caused people to shudder with horror. We all have good reason to know that where the forest of the grass has been burned, the land is unable to resist the erosion of water and wind, thereby becoming in no time at all a desert that will represent our descendants heritage. Then where will they live? What land will they till? What will they eat? Where will they end up? Become aware, oh Malagasy people, for this practice discourages our descendants and nothing can be built on ashes. Whatever the efforts programmed by the central government may be, no results can be expected of them in promoting either the nation nor especially the broad masses as long as those "other people" continue to destroy the results of the sweat of our brows.

Realism

It is true that some rice may fall from the spoon when we eat. Moreover, who can boast of not running into obstacles in what he undertakes? National reconstruction and the will to make justice and equity reign are not realized in 1 year. I have said many times that I am not one to promise the people and the nation the moon. I have promised only what I knew could be realized and was consonant with the nation. It is along that order of ideas that the salaries of civil servants were increased this year. Among the developing nations, Madagascar is perhaps the only country daring to do so at this juncture when the economy is going through a difficult phase. Yet we have not acted blindly but proceeded with a thorough study before doing our utmost.

At the present time we are in the process of examining the salaries of the private sector which will be published at the proper time. Several tens of millions of Malagasy francs have also been devoted to schooling, to education and to training. These grandiose efforts will be continued until the structure and content of education are capable of training citizens who will not make us blush from the standpoint of learning and knowledge as compared with those who have pursued their studies abroad and those of other countries. The realization of this vast work nevertheless demands collaboration, concerted efforts in a straightforward spirit without any reservations on the part of all leaders.

Our children therefore have confidence in you who have accepted having participants and responsibilities in this sphere, in the nation and in the people and in myself, any place and at all levels where you are: the administrating, educational, research authorities, management, students, civil servants and employers.

Today is not devoted in particular to drawing up the balance sheet of the achievements and projects under way. However, it must be underscored that if the civil servants and the pupils have been favored, the unemployed are not forgotten for all that, though not everyone has yet had his share of satisfaction. Our efforts will be continued and those who are seeking work and want to be emancipated will not wait in vain. It is the duty of those who have already obtained a great deal to be aware so that they will not be judged by those who are still awaiting their share. The efforts for rural advancement will also be continued to hasten achieving a balance in the standard of lving and the value of work between country and towns. This goal we are attempting to achieve will level out the differences between country and town for an equitable distribution of income is the foundation in building a new society. And it is to defend this basic idea that I invite the inhabitants of the large cities to allow me to address myself to the broad masses of the majority scattered throughout the countryside. My thoughts and my spirit go out to you who live in places difficult of access and very far removed. I am always with you and aware of what is going on, of your difficulties. We will ever work together to resolve the problems, we will ever produce and make progress together. Be courageous and trusting. Tomorrow, the sunshine of happiness will no longer shine solely on those whom luck has favored, but will shine on all of us. This wish, I express it on this New Year's eve for each and

every one, for all of the Malagasy families wherever they may be in Madagascar or scattered to the four corners of the world.

May the great Malagasy family ever united have long life.

May Madagascar, which will never give in, have long life.

8094

cso: 4400

FRENCH COOPERATION AID TO SOUTH DESCRIBED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 26 Dec 79 p 5

[Article by Malaivandy: "Franco-Malagasy Cooperation in the South"]

[Text] Never was an interview as relaxed as that accorded by the chairman of the Toliary faritany to J. P. Campredon, French ambassador to Madagascar, who had come to the southern capital on the one hand to present the new French consul, Andre Brun, residing at Fianarantsoa, and on the other hand to talk of the work now under way or in the future within the framework of cooperation between France and the RDM [Democratic Republic of Madagascar].

The French ambassador was accompanied by his close collaborators: Lechiguero, in charge of the cooperation mission, Jean de Rochegonde, cultural counselor, Andre Brun, the new consul for the provinces of Fianarantsoa and Toliary, and finally the consular agent for Toliary, Corbeau.

Development in the South

The efforts of Franco-Malagasy cooperation have been devoted to getting production off to a new start with the help of HASYMA [expansion unknown], to restore the irrigation canalization following the passage of cyclone Angela. The cost of the work is estimated at 25 million Malagasy francs.

Another priority sector which the revolutionary government is very concerned about is education. In this case, cooperation is aimed at training the teaching personnel of secondary, technical and higher education. The number of those working on cooperation has risen by at least 15, half of whom just for higher education at Toliary University.

During the conversation, the drop in the level of the French language which could lead to a definite handicap for those holding scholarships who will be called upon to pursue their studies abroad, was noted by the faritany chairman and the French ambassador.

Finally and still in the sphere of education, let us note that the "Equipping of the Secondary Technical Schools" program went off well in Toliary, providing the town's technical secondary school with ultra modern equipment.

Aid to the Decentralized Collectivities

Two fivondronana have had the benefit of Franco-Malagasy cooperation: Morondava and Ampanihy.

Morondava: A schooner, which will serve for supplying many small scattered villages along the Morondava coast, the engine for which will be delivered about February 1980. And also providing a water supply to the fivondronana.

Ampanihy, which our readers must be acquainted with because of the fame of its mohair rugs, will be endowed with an extension to the village dispensary.

The South Is Coming Closer

But the biggest problem in the south is still: Communications, without mentioning the road infrastructure. In the sphere of telecommunications some are not aware of the difficulty of communicating with the other towns. Though Fianar is nearer Toliary, Tana is easier to reach than Fianar. And also when the contact is made. Or there is an endless wait to get through.

A 110 million French franc, that is 5.5 billion Malagasy franc, project is already under way to carry out Operation "Communications" within a period of 2 years. Thus, thanks to the hertzian microwave links that are going to be installed from Fianarantsoa to Mananjary, Manakara, Farafangana, Vangaindrano, to Tolagnaro, ending in Toliary, a great stride will have been taken matching the importance of the operation in that these same Hertzian waves will also be utilized for televised retransmissions that will "inundate" the whole southeast. With the Boeing that serves this southeastern area, we can already say that distances are become more and more reduced. But 2 years from now, that is, by the end of 1981, we will be able to say that the distances have "ears" as well as "eyes."

Let us also recall that another Japanese-Malagasy project is already under way for linking Tana and Toliary, also "directly," by telephone and television passing through Ilhosy. Thus in 1982 all of the island's south will be bathed in Hertzian waves carrying the RTM's [Malagasy Radio and Television] transmissions through the air.

Does the Revolution Need It?

There is no doubt about it: Television is a prodigious instrument for the culture and education of the masses. Imagine the impact television will have on the thousands of cattle raisers and peasants of our south who have never left their village or their district. According to CSR [expansion unknown] Koto Robert, during a rambling conversation, a television operation will apparently be organized at that time to disseminate that instrument to the most remote corners of the island. That will be the time when television will open a small

window onto the world. It will in fact give sight to the blind just as the radio gave hearing to the deaf. For a man is blind and deaf as long as he is closed off from the world.

It is an acquiring of awareness, sometimes an agonizing one, but it is an indispensable acquiring of awareness.

8094

NATIONAL SERVICE DRAFTEES DISCUSS CALL-UP

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 4 Jan 80 pp 1,2

[Text] Almost everywhere throughout the country the military training period, to which are henceforth liable all young men and girls called up for National Service Outside of the Armed Forces, began yesterday. For these young people the great adventure is now beginning. At first timidly, for one does not necessarily know many people. One's former school pals are not necessarily in the group in which one is. Contacts are nevertheless made. They talk. They joke. While waiting for the sergeant responsible for giving the initial instruction.

At the camp of Zandarimariam-pirenens of Betongolo where we went yesterday morning, those in charge found a good way to get them all started. They were taught to sing military songs: "Fahmizam-piarovana," "Nantsoina hoe?" "Izany no zandary!"

But what came next would not be so easy and the young people concerned knew that very well. Nevertheless one had a feeling that they were in a good frame of mind to fulfill their service. The group of 19 young people who learned last week from the RTM's [Malagasy Radio-Television] broadcasts that they were called up, presented themselves yesterday hale and hearty. Called up at the last minute in a way since they do not belong to the class of '79 but to that of '78, they complained of not being taken in charge like the others who have already learned the rudiments of what one has to know in the army.

An Experience

J. P. Rakotomalala whom we asked whether he was not disappointed over being finally called up, said categorically: "Not at all. If we were forgotten, it was because we were working in the CUR [expansion unknown]. The idea of fulfilling my national service outside of the armed forces does not make me happy. I am sure I will learn many things about life in that way. For us young people it will be good experience for life."

An apparently timid girl had to be begged to give her impressions. Suddenly, she pulled herself together. Doubtless aware that with the passage of time one could no longer act like a little girl. She confided to us: "After thinking it over, I am happy to be able to serve my fatherland in this way. The idea of helping young people who are less favored than I delights me. I am not afraid of difficulties." No doubt about it, Fara Rasoarimanana showed that she had the right outlook. In a joking tone, we asked her if she would not be a little upset over being sent out into the real bush, almost in the middle of the forest: "That does not matter," (tsy mampaninona), she replied.

Fears

In the group there were nonetheless some young people who feared some things a little. First of all it was the living conditions that worried them. Some were afraid because of their studies as though this 1-year interruption would have an impact on the continuation of their studies. Others perhaps felt they did not have a strong constitution, wondered what would become of them if they were to be sent to some of the remote firaisana. But, in general, optimism dominated the rest: "We'll soon see," as some of them put it here and there.

A little later, some young men and girls were waiting in little groups for their pay. They were the ones waiting to be demobilized. They were part of the class of 1978 and were soon to be released. Some have been in Tana since the year end holidays and would soon return to their respective jobs. Lucky ones!

Rasoavelomiarana, who is serving at Antsirabe, was relatively content. Relatively so. She complained of not being paid before the holidays. Another comment: She found that those of the SN [National Service] teaching small classes "do not always have a chance to improve themselves." "And what do you think of the benefits you are giving your small class?," we asked her. Realizing no doubt the good she must have done for that brood of children whom she tends to forget to the advantage of her own interests, she became silent but was smiling...

As for Razafindrabe, he complained of the failure of most parents to acquire awareness. "Although we are there on account of their children," he confided to us, "we have the greatest difficulty in finding a place to live." He was appointed to Faratsiho fivondronana. Despite the many difficulties he has encountered, he showed himself to be content just the same. "Because this is a question of my personal contribution to the country's progress."

A girl who preferred not to give her name found that the establishment where she is working has poor equipment. "I am obliged," she said, "to use the small amount of money--12,500, that I earn each month--to buy one thing or another that I need in class without stinting." She also found that legislation relating to the ban on "striking or [words illegible] the pupils [words illegible]. "Some parents," she said, "come to see us and it is they who raise their voices (manao be vava) when it is their children who are

doing poor work or who behave badly thereby setting a poor example for their comrades." This girl felt that it was because she was young that parents acted that way towards her. "That should change," she concluded, "if one wants to obtain through this project, in which everyone is making sacrifices-parents, state, those concerned—the hoped for results."

Distance

Another girl serving in Mananjary finds that the people are "distant" despite her efforts to get closer to them. Health care in the event of illness is virtually nonexistent: "We prefer to go to consult private doctors," she noted, "to be sure of being treated properly."

Those working in the firaisana have difficulty in getting their pay. Aside from the distance that sometimes has to be covered on foot, they are often told that the money has not arrived. "How do you expect us," a National Service youth asked us, "to succeed in carrying out properly the work expected of us after days of this kind of coming and going?"

There is still a lot to say about each one's experience. Some good things, but sometimes also bad things. So much the better for the National Service young people for the good side of the National Service. As for the bad side, for there is one, as Minister Sibon Guy acknowledged during this press conterence. At general staff headquarters in Andohalo a record book should be made available in which one would write freely, perhaps anonymously, to allow everyone the possibility of stating openly without any risk what is right or wrong with the SN and within the framework of their duties. In that way every year the formula already expected to achieve great success in the years ahead could be improved upon, especially if past experience and the relations of the very ones concerned are taken into account, as well as those of the establishment and the parents who utilize it. Here, as with anything else, one must have every point of view so as to take stock of things properly.

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JAPANESE AID FOR PRODUCTION OPERATION REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 27 Dec 79 pp 1,2

[Text] Yesterday morning Japanese-Malagasy cooperation held the place of honor with the signing of a convention relating to nonreimbursable aid—a gift of the Japanese Government in the sum of 300 million yen (about 300 million Malagasy francs) to the RDM [Democratic Republic of Madagascar].

The ceremony was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the presence of Minister Christian Remi Richard and the Japanese charge d'affaires in Antananarivo, Hazegawa, and Ratovoherison, head of the Africa-Asia department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This gift is intended for the operation "All-Out Production" decreed by the government. It will therefore be utilized for the purchase of insecticides and agricultural supplies. In his address, Minister Christian Remi Richard stated that cooperation between Japan and the RDM at the present time is "extremely good." He emphasized that this is the fourth time Tokyo has given its valuable help to the RDM in the course of the present year. In addition, he "dared hope" that with the coming arrival of the new Japanese ambassador to Antananarivo in the near future, cooperation between the two countries will be even more fruitful.

Let us recall that the three preceding contributions of the same kind by the Japanese Government concerned a 1 billion Malagasy franc contribution to the Center for Technical Support of Antsirana's Cattle Raising, another of 215 million Malagasy francs for the purchase of rice and another of 15 million Malagasy francs for the purchase of agricultural supplies and canalization.

All three were signed in the form of nonreimbursable gifts. As the Japanese diplomat stressed yesterday in his speech, his government by these gestures is demonstrating "not only" its desire to contribute to one of the priorities of Madagascar's development program, but it also provides its effective participation in this noble objective, that of All-Out Production. He hoped for "still greater cooperation" between the two peoples.

The new Japanese ambassador to the RDM, Kazuhiro Furusawa, will join his post at the beginning of next year. Fifty-eight years old, he served under the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Iraq, in Italy, in Bulgaria and very recently in India. With his arrival the already considerable cooperation between Japan and the RDM at the present time will no doubt take greater strides. Let us note that some 20 Japanese private firms have agreed to play the Malagasy "card" in various sectors of activity: fishing, telecommunications, chrome, automobiles, ships, food products, cattle raising, etc. Now, some people know that from the moment when a country openly plays the game of the private sector, in addition to the good diplomatic arrangements, it shows to what point bilateral cooperation between the country in question and ours is taken in the full meaning of the term.

Thus, for example, according to the figures published by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research, Japan in 1978 ranked sixth in "Malagasy Exports by Countries" after the United States, France, Indonesia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain with a total amount of 4,195,000,000 Malagasy francs. Under the category "Malagasy Imports by Countries," the country of the rising sun was in fifth place after France, the Federal Republic of Germany the People's Republic of China and Iraq in the amount of 5,774,000,000 Malagasy francs.

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DETAILS ON AREMA MEETING GIVEN

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 2 Jan 80 pp 1,2,3

[Text] Many demonstrations marked life in the capital in celebration of the end of the International Year of the Child and that of Year 4 of the RDM [Malagasy Democratic Republic]. Each decentralized collectivity of the whole island and each revolutionary organization made it a point of honor to celebrate the RDM's fourth year fittingly.

Among those celebrations, we cannot leave out the great meeting organized by AREMA [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution] and its affiliated organizations (Revolutionary Women, MAREMA, SEREMA, AMPINGA, VAREMA [expansions unknown]) at the covered stadium of Mahamasina at Antananarivo under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Desire Rakotorajaona.

Starting at 0800 the members of AREMA and its affiliated organizations swept into the covered stadium to reconfirm to Prime Minister Didier Ratsiraka, AREMA's leader, their oath of allegiance and that of always supporting him in this long-term struggle, that of the revolution.

Before AREMA's personalities arrived at Mahamasina, VAREMA's troupes of artists made it their job to enliven the demonstration.

At 1030 hours Prime Minister Desire Rakotoarijaona and the members of the AREMA's Political Bureau and of the Central Bureau of Ambohitsorchitra entered the covered stadium of Mahamasina to the applause of the audience in the covered stadium.

And after the national anthem and that of the Red Book sung by all of AREMA's members attending the speeches began, the first one by the head of the government.

It must be emphasized that the covered stadium of Mahamasina on this occasion was filled with the bright red color of the various streamers decorating it. In particular, one saw a photograph of President Didier Ratsiraka bearing the inscription of the Year 1975's three points: Didier Ratsiraka, Constitution, Red Book. The three points of our revolution based on the class struggle of the proletariat in all spheres.

A Hen

It was the government's leader, a dynamic member of AREMA, who represented the revolutionary government and President Didier Ratsiraka.

His opening words were to salute the entire nation and in particular all of AREMA's militants on the occasion of the celebration of the RDM's Year 4.

"The Malagasy revolution," he said, "is like a chicken drinking water: It analyzes earthly realities and thinks about its celestial objectives" (applause).

He then explained the reasons for this meeting: For AREMA it was a matter of reconfirming its oath to its leader and to the Malagasy revolution. And it was also proof of their growing ideological awareness.

The head of the government did not fail to present briefly a balance sheet of his 4 years with the RDM; 4 years during which everyone was able to see specifically the liberation of all the jugular bonds oppressing the people; the growing awareness of all the people who are revealing their pride and their legitimate ambitions; the establishment of socialist enterprises and cooperatives which make it possible for urban and rural workers to take in hand the running of the means of production; the liberation in all spheres of women who are making themselves the equals of men which enables them to take on their responsibilities, to carry out their duties and to profit from their rights; the liberation of the young pupils and students who are no longer ignored; the economic liberation from dependence on other countries thanks to all of President Didier Ratsiraka's decisions; and the setting up of a harmonious and independent economic structure through drastic changes responding to the people's legitimate needs.

This meeting also had the purpose of enabling all of the organizations affiliated with AREMA to attain harmony with each other in realizing the revolution. For AREMA was created by President Didier Ratsiraka to be the instrument for bringing about the revolution as it was laid down in the Red Book. Consequently, AREMA's members should be proud of participating so actively in this popular choice.

The Class Struggle

But what is the popular revolution? It is simply the class struggle recommended so strongly both nationally and internationally so that each citizen, especially the members of the proletariat, may profit from the national wealth and see his living conditions improve. And it is up to AREMA, in the vanguard, to lead the proletariat to final victory in this class struggle.

After the head of the government, it was the turn of SEREMA's [labor union] to speak. Before that, however, everyone sang the Socialist International.

Harinaivo first made a point of stating that SEREMA was created by AREMA to bring the workers together in the class struggle. This class struggle for SEREMA is both in keeping and correctly analyzed for it was our leader, Didier Ratsiraka in person who laid the foundations for this struggle.

SEREMA's objective is not to struggle on a limited basis but to eradicate our ills at their roots, that is, by destroying the structures inherited from the colonialist system so as to build socialism. For according to the directives of AREMA's secretary general there must be a drastic change in all of the existing structures to give all producers the means of production (land, plant, funds, materials...).

Aware of its "battalion" role, SEREMA has not spared its strength nor its efforts for victory in this class struggle by leading all workers, from the youngest to the oldest, to reinforce the number of revolutionary militants, of AREMA in particular.

Next, SEREMA's representative recalled and explained all the major decisions of the RDM's president to reach the revolution's long-term goal. An explanation still needed at the present time because the Malagasy people as yet have insufficient awareness to understand it.

The Model Living Image

Then it was the turn of the revolutionary women's representative to speak after Mrs Raveloson Mahasampy sang their anthem.

Florence Ramarovelo did not fail to emphasize the image of the struggle conducted by the Malagasy women. Her speech was moreover based on the Red Book which the women increasingly as [jumbled and missing words] ... (nationalization of the key sectors of... [words missing].

Women can no longer remain silent for their role as wives, mothers, educators and full citizens gives them responsibilities. They can remain silent for the example of the RDM president's wife must encourage them to wage a struggle coinciding with their liberation.

As wives, women have the right to speak in their homes. As educators, they are responsible for forming the minds of their children and [words missing] them. As citizens, they have a role to play both in the development of their fatherland and in contributing to the family income.

Again as citizens, women cannot remain indifferent to the revolutionary struggle waged at the present time and in which they should participate taking their responsibilities and protecting the revolutionary achievements.

A Place for Young People

And when they all finished singing the 1947 patriots' anthem, it was up to Tiazonamboly, MAREMA's representative, to recall the efforts made by the

revolutionary government for young pupils and students and MAREMA's goal, which is that of leading all young intellectuals to their duty, nothing less than that of serving the people in the realization of the class struggle.

And doing so in the first place by bringing the young pupils and students together, the guarantors of education's independence in Madagascar.

MAREMA supports the government's effort to train high level cadres who are able and mature, ready to work for the people who are their employers.

Presenting a short balance sheet on the government's efforts with respect to education, MAREMA's representative affirmed that since the beginning of the socialist revolution, the goal was equality among the pupils of all the faritany and within the decentralized collectivities.

Before 1975 there were only 7,700 public primary schools. Now there are over 10,000 schools for basic education; that is, we have nearly attained the goal of creating one school for basic education in each fokotany for there are 11,000 fokontany in Madagascar.

Now, there are 430 CEG's [expansion unknown] whereas before 1975 there were 98. As for the secondary schools, the situation was similar, 29 before 1975 and 38 now. Without including the fact that the revolutionary government up to now has spent 14 billion to realize our CUR [expansion unknown] within the framework of decentralizing and democratizing education.

In short, nearly 1,400,000 children are now attending school, the majority of whom are of the proletariat. A major stride has been made in that the firaisana are beginning to provide themselves with CEG, as the fivondronana are doing with respect to secondary schools.

Outside of these very concrete results, there is also the revalorization of technical education, a means for struggling against the effects of colonialism which always denigrated artisanal and technical education; providing really Malagasy education meeting revolutionary demands and the country's needs; the restructuring of education.

In addition, in 4 years, one cannot minimize the efforts of the young intellectuals with respect to national service in that young people are not only the future but are the present, for they have their contribution to make to the building of socialism.

Evil Acts

On this occasion MAREMA also denounced the evil acts of the enemies of the revolution whose privileged places are the educational establishments and who do not hesitate to use young people still seeking their maturity to perpetrate their crimes (strikes, antiexamination demonstrations, destruction of public property...). These acts, however, according to MAREMA, are only the image of imperialism in the final spasms of its death agony.

However that may be, according to MAREMA, imperialism and its lackeys have no hope of winning, for the revolution they are attacking belongs to the young, rich in dynamism and in strength.

The final speaker was pastor Zakariasy Albert who spoke of AREMA's role in the revolution.

He began by reviewing the history of the patriotic Malagasy struggle before beginning the theme of his address properly speaking, on AREMA, the RDM's avant-garde, the leader of all the militants so as to attain economic independence, in the image of leader Didier Ratsiraka.

He did not fail either to recall the [jumbled and missing words] of our economy and the establishment of the bases of our socialist society).

He also affirmed that AREMA is not the sort to take over positions already held by those legitimately holding them: President Ratsiraka created it after the people opted for the Red Book, the RDM's Constitution and for him. AREMA is in power specifically to give that power to the people, those who legitimately hold it. That is why the people must remain vigilant in the face of the subtle maneuvers of the enemies of every category who dared to claim that Malagasy socialism was anti-Christian whereas the goals of the Malagasy revolution match those of Christianity such as they were dictated by Christ: equality, justice, honesty, through the eradication of oppression and exploitation.

It wasn't until 1230 hours that this Tananarive meeting of AREMA's organization ended. Let us note that the animation was at the same level as that of the various address. A liveliness led by the head of the government and Harinaivo of the RTM [Malagasy Radio-Television].

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BDPI ABOLISHED, REPLACED BY SERDI

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 26 Dec 79 p 2

[Text] A decree of the president of the Republic dated 10 December and published in the JORDM [OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR] in its 15 December issue abrogated the decree providing for the creation and organization of the BDPI [Industrial Development and Promotion Bureau].

A decision of the prime minister, head of the government, No 5259/79, provides for the creation of a socialist enterprise, SERDI [Study and Realization Company for Industrial Development].

On the basis of this decision a socialist enterprise governed by the Charter of Socialist Enterprises, the texts for its application and this statute are created.

The enterprise assumes the name SERDI ["Study and Realization Company for Industrial Development"].

MISSION

The enterprise has for its objects the role of a study and consulting engineering bureau for the purpose of developing national industry and, more generally, all of the operations related directly or indirectly to the firm's objects.

The head office of the enterprise is established at Antananarivo. It can be transferred to any other place in the territory on decision of the management committee.

The duration of the enterprise is set at 50 years from the date of this decision except in the event of its anticipated dissolution or extension as provided by the texts in force.

The firm's capital is set at 165 million Malagasy francs distributed as follows:

Malagasy state 140,000,000 (85 percent)
BNI [National Investment Bank] 15,000,000 (9 percent)
Ny HAVANA [expansion unknown] 10,000,000 (6 precent)

The management committee is made up of five members as follows:

l representative of the state, chairman

1 FNI (National Investment Fund) representative

1 BNI representative

l representative of the workers of the enterprise and the director general of the enterprise.

The SERDI enterprise is regulated by the economic sector's "sectors of the services' activities."

SERDI will take over BDPI's assets and liabilities as well as its rights and obligations.

In addition, another decision of the prime minister, head of the government, appoints R. Rajoharison Michel Augustin to the position of chairman of the SERDI enterprise's management committee.

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'OBSERVER' CALLS 1979 A WASTED YEAR POLITICALLY

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 5 Jan 80 p 6

[Editorial: "Waste That Can Be ttilized"]

[Text]

The end of the year holiday is behind us and if we elect to take no cognisance of those who have already studied the calendar to see when the Easter recess takes place, the time has dawned on us to rather make a review of a number of priorities for 1980. History always has the final say and will prove that 1979 was politically a wasted year, a charade, a 12-month period which ended in definite signs of attempting to resurrect the old Odendaal ghost.

The unique opportunity that was granted Mr Dirk Mudge and his associates will not present itself again. Fate is not in the habit of smiling benignly too often; there is a weird yet poetic justic when one scoffs at a great opportunity presented by the invisible but

mighty powers beyond man's control.

The fact that we have wasted another year, as far as the political development of our country is concerned, was to be expected. Yet it did cause some disappointment because the sooner it is realised that this country is in need of a political personality vested with the ability to build a true South West Africa nationalism, the better the chances of eliminating a number of unnecessary hardships ahead.

Enough of that.

In the absence of a politically dynamic programme, let us at least focus the attention on other issues just as compelling, and demanding a new approach without delay.

The fact is beyond dispute that Dr Gerrit Viljoen is the supreme political boss of the Territory, and that our own Legislative Assembly, without us losing sight of the laudable work this body has done over many years, is subordinated to the offices of the Administrator General. In fact, our most efficient Administrative machine is fast being turned into an inflated municipal organisation.

The Turnhalle Assembly is a pathetic rubber stamp of Dr Viljoen, who in turn is a rubber stamp of the South African Government.

Yet these dismal facts do not detract from what we believe is Dr Viljoen's objective too - establishing in this country a new atmosphere, a relaxation of the tension, an opening of more doors and an inclination to negotiate instead of protesting violently. We believe that that is his aim despite the fact that we see in his political pattern a deficient, decrepit old system, and redundant.

That being the case, there is a lot that Dr Viljoen can do to alleviate our serio-economic conditions.

One of the first priorities is revised legislation in regard to our natural resources. It is admitted that development of certain mining projects entails vast expenditure of capital, risks, and the prospect of making a profit can only be viewed in the long term. As a result, millions are being spent in the hope of making some money at some stage, with the consequent risk that a new political dispensation could upset the apple cart and could only lead to the nationalisation of the project.

Yet the commercial crime of a depleted fishing resource in which South West Africans had an insignificant share as far as the profits were concerned, taught us a few hard lessons.

The diamond industry in this country is the biggest money spinner. It is an industry that does not require refineries, for it takes a raw product from an over burden of soil, and puts it away in a vault, after sorting, which is probably the biggest job involved.

The time has come, we say, to give south West Africans a position on the board of those foreign companies who are mining our resources.

In short, a greater share by South West Africans in those riches. It does not suffice for Mr Harry Oppenheimer, and we are not trying to ridicule his contributions to charity, to donate a bus or a training centre from time to time. Due to a deficient political system we have tens of thousands of unskilled hands waiting to be trained and we have got potentially numerous smaller industries waiting to be established and to be tapped. We cannot do it if the very essence of this country's revenue is dictated by people in leather-padded offices, far away from Windhoek.

BRIEFS

CONSTABLE SHOT IN ATTACK-Oshakati: Special Constable Hamutenya Hidisange, 45, was shot dead when SWAPO insurgents attacked the kraal in which he was staying, an Inquest Court heard. Another Constable managed to escape running for some 200 yards when he turned and fired four rounds in the direction of the attackers. The inquest Court also heard that Special Constable Alfeus Johannes was shot dead when he pursued SWAPO insurgents as a member of a Defence patrol. They left from Oshigambo military base and followed the footprints of the insurgents when suddenly they ran into a burst of fire. [Text] [Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 5 Jan 80 p 6]

RHODESIAN MOVES TOWARD LIBERTY EXAMINED

A Step Toward Liberty

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 3 Dec 79 pp 34-37

[Article by Dominique Lagarde]

[Text] On the morning of 19 November, a Royal Air Force Hercules landed at the Salisbury airport. In its baggage compartment was a Daimler. This automobile which arrived by air is the future official automobile of the British governor of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." It is also the first tangible sign of the temporary "recolonization," paradoxically recognized today as a necessity so that finally, if the Lancaster House agreements are applied, Zimbabwe, after 15 years of war, will make its entrance into the union of independent nations. To reach this point, it was necessary for the freedom fighters to intensify the struggle every day, forcing the authorities in Salisbury to extend martial law over 90 percent of the territory. And the domestic and international attempts at internal regulation negotiated by the former Rhodesian prime minister with Bishop Abel Muzorewa also had to fail. To these decisive factors are added the military and economic pressures exerted on neighboring countries by the regimes at Sailsbury and Pretoria. President Kenneth Kaunda should be thanked, "wrote the British weekly THE ECONOMIST in the wake of the agreement reached on 15 November, "for having made the Pax Brittanica the business of the Commonwealth."

Tomorrow then, unless there is a breakdown in the Lancaster House cease-fire talks, there will be a British governor at Salisbury, and at the beginning of next year elections will allow the citizens of Zimbabwe to choose their own government. Already, some British business circles are expecting to realize a profit from the lifting of sanctions, which a definitive agreement in London would surely involve. In the city, South Rhodesian debenture loans at 2.5 percent which were exchanged at 20 percent of their nominal value last year, were negotiated at 110 percent of that value on 15 November, with speculators expecting, in addition to reimbursement of capital, future interest payments for the next 14 years. Large companies like Lonrho, which is impatiently awaiting the settlement of the Rhodesian question to reopen its pipeline from Beira, or Turner and Newall, which hopes to collect a profit

from its asbestos deposits, do not hide their optimism. For their part, the British Industrial Confederation and two other interprofessional organizations have already asked the British Overseas Trade Board to help them to organize trade missions to Zimbabwe. It seems that these expectations are shared by some Rhodesian business men because the American weekly, TIME, reported the case of a house in a residential suburb of Salisbury whose price increased from \$30,000 last year to \$60,000 this month. According to British economists, the lifting of the sanctions would result in the return to the country of approximately \$2 billion during the first 13 months.

However, this beautiful optimism could flounder very quickly. The election campaign, if it develops freely, promises to be lively. Since 20 seats are reserved for the whites, a party or coalition will have to carry nearly 64 percent of the other seats to gain an absolute majority in Parliament. It is reasonable to think that for the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—which theoretically will stand together under the single title of the Patriotic Front—the obstacle is far from being insuperable. Right now, Joshua Nkomo is assured of a very large majority in the Bulawayo region, and the ZANU is strongly rooted in the eastern part of the country.

Furthermore, month after month, Bishop Abel Muzorewa has lost most of his following by making himself an accomplice in the policy of repression being carried on by the Salisbury forces against the nationalists.

It remains to be seen how such a victory will be received in the region, and especially in Pretoria. Certainly, for the time being, the Lancaster negotiations are considered a triumph for the West in Western capitals, insofar as they will have avoided having Zimbabwe become a second Angola with a strong Cuban presence, if a cease-fire is agreed upon. Even if, in spite of their efforts to prevent it, the Patriotic Front accedes to power.

Only it is doubtful whether the same reasoning will be used in Pretoria. And the presence, at the gates of the future independent Zimbabwe, of the most powerful army on the continent that of South Africa, remains the major risk for the future of this country. On 16 November, Pieter Botha, the South African prime minister, hinting at a possible intervention, declared that Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is "a key country in matters concerning southern Africa." And on 19 November, Bishop Abel Muzorewa did not hesitate to state that foreign military intervention, even from South Africa, would be welcome in his country if chaos ensued. This before stating precisely that if his party lost the elections, it would mean the end of the country because chaos would reign." He could not make himself more clear.

In fact, the South African authorities consider the Rhodesian decline as a principal part of their strategy. The government in Pretoria, and especially the chief generals in the South African army have established a new regional policy with two planks:* to encourage, within the country, the birth of a mixed and black lower middle class which, according to this scheme

^{*}see DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE No 38

would become the ally of power at the price of a few reforms which would permit them to achieve relative integration; and to establish a "constellation of nations" in the region, a sort of common market where the bonds of economic dependence, which are already very strong, would be reinforced, and where Pretoria would guarantee security.

This plan, which includes practically all of the southern part of the continent up to the frontiers of Zaire, obviously assumes that the concerned nations are ready to cooperate with South Africa, even if it is in the name of economic realism. It's true that from the South African point of view things are not going too badly with the Mozambique of Samora Machel. But will it be the same tomorrow with Zimbabwe? Will economic dependence be enough to create the conditions for a "gentlemen's agreement?" Nothing is less sure. More especially so since, in spite of recent efforts, the Patriotic Front is far from being as well-united as the FRELIMO.

Whatever happens in the future, the independence of Zimbabwe directly threatens the survival of South Africa, the last white bastion on the continent. Therefore, the war is not finished. And the most fearsome battle has not yet been fought.

Victory for Armed Combat

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 3 Dec 79 p 36

[Article by D. L.]

[Text] Make no mistake! The diplomatic victory of Lord Carrington and of the frontline presidents, the important step which has just been made toward Zimbabwe's independence is also a victory for the armed struggle which has been conducted, for several years, by the freedom fighters in the underground of Ian Smith's Rhodesia.

The fighting, which really became full-scale at the beginning of the seventies, took a little over 20,000 victims, to say nothing of the 250,000 refugees (at least) who settled in Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. This doesn't include some 200,000 peasants confined in "prote ted villages," veritable concentration camps intended to prevent them from supporting the guerrilla warfare. Although the Patriotic Front, an alliance of the ZAPU of Josh ... Nkomo and the ZANU of Robert Mugabe, was established in 1976, the military unity was much more difficult to establish. The Addis Ababa accords, signed in April 1979, made it possible to set up a defense council and a joint operational command. However, the two armies remain separate. The ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army), military branch of ZANU, is deployed mostly in the eastern half of the country. It includes some 10,000 to 12,000 fighting men within the country, and about 25,000 in camps in Mozambique. The ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) has nearly 5,000 guerrillas in Zimbabwe, especially in the West, in the Victoria Falls and Bulawayo regions. In addition, it has a fighting force of about 30,000 wellarmed men, most of whom are stationed in Zambia. One or the other of these armies could control, completely or partly, about two-thirds of the rural areas.

In some villages, the ZANLA has even established its own administration, modeled after that set up by the FRELIMO in the first liberated areas of Mozambique. Attempts have been made on several occasions in the cities, including Salisbury, and communication lines--ground and aerial--have been unreliable for several months. This doesn't mean, and to pretend that it does would be dishonest, that the army in Salisbury was on the point of collapsing: recent raids against Zambia are evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, it does signify that the relationship between the forces had changed sufficiently so that neither Ian Smith nor, even more so, Bishop Abel Mozorewa can any longer ignore, politically, the fighting nationalists. Indeed, the historic experience shows that armed combat always, at a given moment, proceeds to negotiation, as soon as it reaches its objective which is to change the ratio of the forces. So that in Algeria and at the Evian accords, in Angola and Mozambique, they think only of African examples. And, in that regard, how revealing is the statement of former prime minister Ian Smith, urging his compatriots, in the wake of the agreement of 15 November, to show that they are "realistic" and to accept the fact that, henceforth, the "terrorists" are "part of our country!"

One day it will have to be the same in Namibia, and later on, in South Africa, where the Blacks are fighting to become citizens in their own country. Although there is not yet a full-scale guerrilla army in the country of apartheid, already acts of sabotage, organized in particular by militants of the African National Congress (ANC), are becoming more and more frequent. On 15 November, the tribunal at Pietermaritzburg sentenced 12 militants from teh ANC who were accused--and furthermore, they acknowledged the fact-of having received military training abroad with the intention of overthrowing the government. One of them, James Daniel Mange, * a young man 24 years of age, was sentenced to death, and the 11 others were sentenced to a total of 173 years in prison. James Mange and three of his comrades were commissioned to organize a commando operation against a police station in Whitlesea, near Greenstown. At the judge's decision, the trial took place behind closed doors, under the official pretext of "protecting the witnesses." This did not prevent the accused from intoning, at the beginning of each session, nationalists chants, and from waving anti-apartheid banners on the day of sentencing. If the penalties were rather heavy at Pietermaritzburg, it is because the "white power" takes the threat seriously. Even if it is true that it will still take many long years for liberty to triumph in South Africa.

Diary of Killing

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 3 Dec 1979 p 37

[Article by Raymond Morineau]

"They (the men who have taken part in battles) are guys who are completely thick-skinned. They seem to take pleasure in killing. I hope I will never

^{*}The ANC hopes that those who wish to show their solidarity with James Daniel Mange will write to his wife, Mrs Pauline Dipuo Mange, 889, Central Western Jabavu, Johannesburg, South Africa

become like them." Tony Rogersson, 23 years old, wrote that in his diary on 12 January 1979, a few days after his conscription into the unit known as the Rhodesian Light Infantry (RLI) (a completely white unit). Reading the pages of this diary, published by the London weekly, the OBSERVER, makes one tremble. In less than 6 months, this young white from Zimbabwe, who was troubled by scruples, was transformed into an evil-minded beast: a sadist and a killer.

On 26 July, the last day of Tony Rogersson's journal, he wrote, "I am truly frustrated. At times like this, I am bored with the war. I feel as though I have to kill someone. It's bloody peculiar!"

In the interval, the RLI has educated him. It is a school of callousness, hatred and torture. A dehumanizing school. And when this young soldier is present at the scene of action where the staggering heroism of one of these guerrillas whom he is hunting with the bloody joy which the example of his fighting companions have instilled in him is demonstrated, he will be incapable of learning from that heroism. A freedom fighter was taken prisoner. With eyes blindfolded, he was given a pistol with an order to kill himself. Without hesitation, (the Zimbabwe guerrilla) put the barrel of the gun beneath his chin, and, not knowing that it wasn't loaded, pulled the trigger." Rogersson makes no comment on this abonimable game, but he seems to have been plainly astounded.

However, this young man is very thoughtful. Before his transformation, he made this curious remark. "I have come to the conclusion that all of the kaffirs aren't idiots. I think that they simply want us to think so."

An untenable scene. The soldiers of the RLI see a body (black) lying near-by. Rogersson and his comrade, Nigel, approach it cautiously. On the day of 22 February, Rogersson wrote in his diary, "Nigel was perhaps 2 meters away, in front of the nigger, and I was a distance behind him. Suddenly, to our astonishment, the body came alive and raised its arms in a sign of surrender. Surprised, we opened fire together. Nigel's bullets tore the nigger's chest open, and mine lacerated his back from top to bottom. The nigger collapsed and remained motionless while a cloud of dust settled on the body.

And then, there he was raising his hands again. It was horrible, like a nightmare in which you try to kill someone and your bullets drop softly from the barrel of your gun. Nigel shouted to Corporal Rosseau, "He is still alive. Shall I fire again?" The answer came back to him, 'Yes. And this time shoot him in his bloody head!' Nigel obeyed, and blew the nigger's brains out."

It was Rogersson's first encounter with the enemy. The next day, he wrote in his diary, "He was defenseless, and yet I killed him. I really never thought that I would be capable of killing a man who had surrendered. And yet, I did it."

But on 5 May, the same man wrote, "Today, we killed our 101st chap on this trip into the bush. Celebrated with a bottle of sparkling wine." And on 7 May, "Tonight, while I was on guard duty, I realized that I am beginning to enjoy combat. In a morbid sort of way."

A beast is born. Countless other beasts have been trained in Zimbabwe during 15 years of war against the nationalist resistance forces. What will be the future of these wild creatures in this country which is starting out on the road to freedom?

Step Toward Pax Brittanica

Paris DEMAIN 1'AFRIQUE in French 3 Dec 79 pp 38-40

[Article by DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE's London correspondent, Suzanne Cronje]

[Text] During Negotiations at Lancaster House

It is the 10th week of negotiations at Lancaster House concerning the future of Rhodesia. The news arrives, a "solution" has been found. The Patriotic Front accepts the British proposals on the transition period. The addition of a single sentence to paragraph 13 of the British document, "the Patriotic Front forces will be subject to the authority of the governor," freed the negotiations from the impasse. It is a sentence which, in plain language, means that these forces will enjoy the same status as the Rhodesian forces during the elections.

But Lord Carrington, Foreign Office secretary, and chairman of the conference, has produced a series of "clarifications," which are as much important concessions to the Patriotic Front as to the countries of the Commonwealth which support them. For example, while from the beginning Great Britain had refused to consider the use of an international peace force to supervise a cease-fire, it was leaked to the press, in the 9th week of the negotiations, that London had sounded out several Commonwealth countries, inviting them to participate in units which are now called a "supervisory" force. Lord Carrington himself confirmed this on 13 November in the House of Lords, by stating that this supervisory force "could also have a stabilizing effect after the announcement of the election results and before the establishment of the new government and the granting of independence." This raised another objection from the front, namely that white Rhodesians who would not willingly accept a Patriotic Front government, would attempt a coup d'etat with their army after the announcement of the election results.

The Front doubted the impartiality of an election board with a British chairman and representatives from each party, a board which would have to count on the present government service to fulfill its functions. Lord Carrington agreed that the board "should have no connection whatsoever with the existing governmental machinery," and that its members should be free to intervene in any matter concerning the balloting, including the organization and progress of the elections, access to the media and public meetings.

But the front did not have its way in a number of important questions, the most vital of which is the establishment of electoral lists. It argued that without electoral lists the way would be open to fraud. In addition, the civil administration will stay put during the interim period.

In the present state of affairs, Rhodesia will again become a lawful state 14 years after the unilateral proclamation of independence, with the arrival in Salisbury of the British governor. He will be permitted to govern by statute; but the existing laws will remain in effect, it is believed, insofar as they do not affect the elections or the cease-fire. Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the other members of the present regime "will exercise no ministerial functions" after the arrival of the governor, which, states Lord Carrington, will assure equal treatment of both parties during the elections; but apparently, they will be authorized to keep their official titles.

As far as the return of the refugees is concerned, Great Britain, to satisfy the front and the Commonwealth, will do "everything possible" to arrange for their return, while counting on the assistance of other governments and international organizations. At the Foreign Office, it was said that the reference to the refugees' resettlement concerns those who are outside of Rhodesia, as well as displaced persons within the country. Since most of the refugees certainly favor the Patriotic Front, this problem is of the greatest importance. There is some question about the number of persons involved. According to the Patriotic Front, there are 1,000,000, and according to British estimates, there are 250,000. But the important thing is that all those who wish to return should be able to do so before the elections, and this affects the problem of the length of the interim period. The timetable and the cease-fire arrangements are the last questions to be discussed. All other agreements, concerning the Constitution and the arrangement of the interim period, are secondary to an agreement on the ceasefire.

In their strategy for negotiating, the British have divided the agenda into three sections: the Constitution, the transition period (including the electoral procedure), and the cease-fire. At each stage in the negotiations, Lord Carrington insisted on obtaining the agreement of the Patriotic Front to each of his proposals, which were only slightly modified by the negotiations, before proceeding to the next point on the agenda. This procedure almost led to breaking off the talks in October, but Lord Carrington set a deadline for acceptance of the constitutional plan by the Patriotic Front. When the Front rejected this ultimatum, bilateral talks with Muzorewa's delegation began. It was only after a firm declaration by the secretary general of the Commonwealth, Mr. Shridath Ramphal, supported by President Kaunda, that a formula for continuing the conference with the participation of the Patriotic Front was found.

The principal objection of the front to the British constitutional plan was over the problem of land. The British plan strengthened property rights for a minimum of 10 years, while it limited the reasons for land acquisition by a new government, and added restrictive clauses regarding compensation. President Faunda, who understood the position of the Front stated,

"This is an explosive problem which could ruin Zimbabwe after it gains its independence." He said that it is the Patriotic Front which is giving things away, and the British government and its puppets who are receiving them. A formula ironed out the difficulties. The front received the "assurance" that Great Britain, the United States and other countries would participate in a financial outlay to aid agrarian development.

The only sign of interest in the future from the Muzorewa party was the contesting of Lord Carrington's proposals, according to which all parties would have free access, without censure, to different media. "We want to be sure," he said, "that this doesn't mean that the different parties will be able to make subversive or defamatory statements with impunity." He also had reservations on the British plan authorizing observers from the Commonwealth (besides the supervisory force) to supervise the elections. "Some countries in the Commonwealth are hostile to my government," he said. "Isn't it reasonable to expect that such observers might submit dishonest reports? Are we criticizing the intention by expecting that a certain amount of selectivity be exercised in choosing the observers?"

Muzorewa would certainly exclude Kenneth Kaunda as an observer. The Zambian president paid a lightning visit to London to talk with members of the government during this crucial ninth week of the conference. The result was a softening of Lord Carrington's attitude. President Nyerere also came to the rescue of the Patriotic Front by announcing at a crucial moment in the magnificant that "the Patriotic Front has every right to insist that the security forces, both theirs and those of the Smith and Muzorewa regimes, be treated on an equal footing. They should have the same status and the same role." And he added, "If the negotiations were broken off, we would support the Patriotic Front, and the war would continue."

How long will the transition period last? This was still one of the main points under discussion when we went to press. London believes that a delay of 2 months is sufficient to prepare for the elections. According to the Patriotic Front, 2 months will be just long enough to make the cease-fire effective, and the transition period should last at least 6 months. Great Britain was questioned on this point during a meeting, in London, of Commonwealth high commissioners, who seemed to agree unanimously on the Patriotic Front timetable. Later, a British delegate was to explain privately that the representative of Lord Carrington replied that the disagreement was not so great as it appeared to be. The 2-month transition period proposed by Great Britain would not take effect until after the proclamation of a cease-fire. This would mean a 2-month period for the cease-fire to become effective, then a 2-month interim period, or 4 months in all.

Everyone knows, especially the British, that the future of Rhodesia is in the hands of its neighbors. This explains the attacks in recent weeks, by Rhodesian forces, apparently with South African assistance, against Mozambique and Zambia. During previous attacks, the Salisbury army had designated what it thought to be guerrilla bases as its target, although this time it directly attacked the economy of these countries.

The fact that London has not con emmed these scandalous deeds, seems to indicate that Lord Carrington and his colleagues secretly hope that the negotiations which are now underway will allow Muzorewa or some other moderate black leader to keep Rhodesia in complete security within the Western orbit.

Terms of Agreement

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 3 Dec 79 p 39

[Article by D.L.]

[Text] It will take many weeks of negotiations for the conference on Zimbabwe, which began on 10 September in the British capital, to reach an agreement on the constitution of the future nation and on the organization of the transition period.

Discussions on the constitutional project continued until 19 October, when representatives of the Patriotic Front made it known that they were ready to accept the proposals presented by the British, subject to an agreement on the transition period. The English text of the constitution provided for two assemblies: a Lower Chamber where 20 seats (out of 100) are reserved for whites, and a Senate where the whites will have 10 seats out of 40.

This Constitution can only be amended by a 70 percent majority vote, and a unanimous vote is required for anything which affects white representation and the Bill of Rights, which defines the rights of citizens, and especially guarantees respect for the right to own property. The objections raised by the Patriotic Front specifically concerned the seats reserved for whites and the part of the Bill of Rights concerning the right to own property, which they only accepted grudgingly, and it seems, after having received certain assurances, particularly from the Americans, concerning financing by Western nations of a compensation fund for redemption of land to be nationalized.

The organization of the transition period, the second point on the agenda, must have been just as difficult to negotiate since the predicament could only be resolved after a lightning trip to London by Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia. The agreement reached on 15 November, is based on the appointment of a British governor who will be responsible for administering the government of the country until the elections. All of the armed forces—those of the Salisbury regime and those of the Patriotic Front which will obtain "equal status"—will be under his orders, as will the present administration which will assist him in regulation of current business. He will be supported by a small British staff, consisting mainly of a military advisor, an assistant advisor on policy, and an elections commissioner. The latter will preside over an electoral board where all of the parties will be represented, and he will be charged with the organization of the elections. An international force, composed of contingents from the Commonwealth countries, will be responsible for supervising the cease—fire.

A Dozen Attempts at Regulation

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 3 Dec 79 p 40

[Article by D. L.]

[Text] Since Prime Minister Ian Smith decided to declare Rhodesia independent unilaterally on 11 November 1965, the problem posed by the rebellious colony has given rise to a dozen attempts at regulation.

On 2 December 1965, Harold Wilson, who was then prime minister of Britain, met Ian Smith on a ship off the coast of Malta, and proposed to him, in vain, the appointment of a British governor.

On 13 October 1968, the same Harold Wilson again met the Rhodesian prime minister, this time off the coast of Gibralter. Another failure.

On 24 November 1971, after several week of negotiations, a "plan of accord" was signed between Sir Alec Douglas home, then British minister of foreign affairs, and the authorities in Salisbury: accession to independence in exchange for a Constitution which provided for blacks to have the majority in Parliament in the year 2035. However, the signers predicted that their "plan of accord" could only become final if it was accepted by the majority. An investigating committee, the Pearce Committee, was given responsibility for measuring, on the spot, the reactions of the African people. Arriving in Salisbury in January 1972, the Pearce Committee made public its report in May of the same year: "Lord Pearce and his colleagues believe that the majority of Africans are opposed to the agreement, and, therefore, conclude that the Rhodesian people, as a whole, do not accept the plan of accord."

On 25 August 1975, at Victoria Falls, the first constitutional conference was opened under the guidance of the South African Prime Minister John Vorster and the Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda. The nationalists were temporarily reunited for the occasion. They formed only a single delegation, presided over by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, which included Josha Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole. These conversations, which lasted nine hours, resembled a dialog of deaf persons; and the conference ended in failure.

On 19 March 1976, secret negotiations between Joshua Nkomo and Ian Smith failed in turn.

On 22 March 1976, London submitted to the concerned parties the first Anglo-American plan.

On 19 September 1976, Ian Smith accepted this plan which provided for the organization of a constitutional conference of all the parties and accession of the country to majority rule within a 2-year period.

On 28 October 1976, opening of the Geneva Conference. It ended in failure on the following 14 December.

On I September 1977, a new Anglo-American plan was published.

On 24 November 1977, Ian Smith rejected this plan and announced that he intended to negotiate an "internal regulation." This was to be signed on 3 March 1978 by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, while the ZAPU and the ZANU, united within the Patriotic Front, intensified the struggle.

On 7 August 1979, the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka adopted a nine-point plan for accession of the country to independence. In conformance with this plan, the British government called a conference of all parties. It began on 10 September at Lancaster House.

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PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH EVALUATED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 20 Dec 79 p 1

[Editorial by Bara Diouf: "Courage and Determination"]

[Text] The formula is President Amadou Cisse Dia's. It expresses the Senegalese deputies' clear awareness of the obstacles strewn in the path leading to the country's development; it intensely expresses the prime minister's and his team's fierce determination to take up the challenges imposed on us by an unfavorable environment and an international situation over which we have no control. One certainly need not be a soothsayer to understand! The accumulated years of drought, the deterioration of the terms of trade, which is becoming more pronounced, the 20-percent decrease in the value of peanuts on the international markets, the galloping explosion in the prices of black gold, these are all so many blocking factors in the fight Senegal is waging, first for its survival, and then for its progress.

The stabilization plan, like the plan for financial adjustment and revival of investments, whose objectives were defined and adopted in February 1979, is aimed at these goals. It is a matter of arriving, through severe and rigorous contraction of the state's way of life, at releasing savings that can participate in stimulating investment in sectors having as much priority as agriculture and industry. According to the prime minister's estimates this economy, which is to be realized out of expenditures in proportion to revenue, should reach 15 percent of the budget at the end of the Fifth Plan and 25 percent in 1985. This austerity policy, which has often been called for and today is being vigorously enforced, expresses as we said the government's determination to face the challenges of our time. But development is more than an assured and continuing growth, an indeterminate accumulation of wealth or spectacular and long-lasting economic successes. As a process aiming at man's integral achievement in his national community, it must be expressed according to our egalitarian and socialist vision of Senegal, by just remuneration for the efforts of all, workers in the cities and peasants in the country. The head of the government, Abdou Diouf, also had the courage, in the third part of his speech, to confirm the promises made some weeks before to the world of labor by the chief of state.

After 1 January 1980 it is basically a matter of raising the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage 25 percent and increasing the low public service salaries by 34 percent. As for the peasants, they will see an improvement in the purchase price of peanuts, millet or cotton such as to encourage them to persevere until the dam program currently under study is realized, making it possible to free them at last from the vagaries of weather and the constraints of nature.

The prime minister stressed at quite some length the reforms that are going to redefine the functions of the SAED [Senegal River Development and Exploitation Company] and ONCAD [National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development], decide on their mission, trim their administration in the interest of efficiency and profitability. But what is striking in this speech, spoken in a firm tone and pierced with the conviction and faith which is said to move mountains, is the concise thinking, the coherent speech, the honesty of the estimates and predictions. No demogoguery! Nothing but verifiable facts and figures. And then there is this moving, elevated side, this indispensable reminder to the citizens, who undoubtedly know it by heart, of what public service and the meaning of the state are. Referring in turn to Montesquieu and modern society's thinkers, Mr Abdou Diouf was the philosopher of action, the builder of a nation.

Faithful to the master's teaching, he exalted the virtues of tolerance and freedom without which a national community will be nothing but a utopia. The base of government, in charge of a policy before the nation and before men, addressing everyone, especially the great servants of the state, he appealed to their public spirit, their sense of sacrifice and their consciousness of their duty.

A great speech, received as it should be by an attentive Parliament in which the opposition and the majority were eagerly awaiting it. A great speech that reveals an Abdou Diouf sure of himself, in full command of the complex mechanism of the state machinery, who told his compatriots what he expects of them, so that all of us together will build the Senegal of our dreams.

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DETAILS ON FRENCH COOPERATION GIVEN

Victoria NATION in French 18 Dec 79 pp 1, 2

[Text of statement of the government of the Republic of Seychelles concerning suspension of Fr a h aid and recall of cooperants]

[Text] The overnment of the Republic of Seychelles has published to official statement pursuant to the latest initiatives tablishing the suspension of French aid to the Seychelles for uncommitted projects and the recall of certain cooperants serving in the country. The entire text follows:

While our country is engaged in a battle for development, the services of the French Cooperation Ministry have just announced the suspension of aid to our country for uncommitted projects, and the recall of a number of cooperants who had been placed at the disposal of our country in essential activity sectors.

The volume of the aid suspended by the French Cooperation Services is evaluated at 40,000,000 rupees and was to be used chiefly for construction of an arts center, a hotel school and an administration hall, and for pickling plants--projects discussed with our French partners which were part of our joint development plan. The cooperants whose recall has been requested were serving as advisers to the presidency, the Planning and Development Ministry, and in the Information Services, three sectors of prime importance that are especially sensitive.

The announced measures, which were decided upon by the French Cooperation Services and brought to our government's knowledge certainly surprised us by their magnitude, bearing no relation to the reason invoked, which would be behind these decisions, the arrest of a French national among many other arrests following the discovery last November of a conspiracy to overthrow the regime.

The arrests carried out in the days following the announcement of the plot were all motivated by the news of the complicity in varying degrees of responsibility of the accused, of Seychellois or foreign origin. For the Security Services it was then a matter of establishing the charges for some of them, establishing the facts in a confidential information phase so as not to prejudice the investigation.

The presence of a French national who moreover assumed responsibility in a sector of sovereignty directly connected with state security made it impossible to authorize an exception. His presence and his participation in the joint destabilization plan was felt by our leaders to be a chance incident that could not and should not be stressed, nor should it intervene as an element of judgment in the relations of state with state, carried out with reciprocal esteem. To that our country is devoted.

The plot that was hatched, its exceptional nature and the serious dangers it laid upon a democratically elected regime could not allow its elements to be dissociated while the investigation was in progress. In the opinion of our leaders and our people, the security of the state ruled out any sentimentality, the stake being the future of our country.

As the inquiry went forward, measures for releasing the accused after hearings were to take place, and did take place, as everyone knows.

In the case of the French national, despite the seriousness of the affair, our government, taking into account the ties between our country and France, to which it is especially attached, invited, though there was no provision requiring it do so so, the French authorities to send a French policeman to the Seychelles, to participate in the inquiry in progress and evaluate the elements of information which made any release measure impossible. Our government's good will and the sincerity of the proposal have unfortunately had no echoes on the French side.

The real question raised could not be raised in terms of liberation while the inquiry was continuing, but in terms of guarantees offered to the accused. In that respect our country's attitude was characterized by loyalty and will remain so, and also by the need to make clear, and entirely clear, the November conspiracy. The accused might have been of a nationality other than French, and the events would have been the same.

The information collected by the security services before the conspiracy, including records providing evidence of his culpability, and the defendants' hearing, provided important details on the respective roles. The statements and confessions of the detained persons showed exact and detailed preparations, as well as the details of the intervention of some of them, including Jacques Chevalereau. The charges accumulated increasingly remove the innocence invoked, which can hardly be defended, and under such circumstances the investigation can only be actively pursued in all justice and equity, which allows for no exception.

In such circumstances, the attitude of the French Cooperation Services is at the very least incomprehensible and in any case partakes of immoderation. To invoke a bond of cause and effect between the arrest of a French national and the suspension of aid amazes and shocks the mind. Moreover, it is a reason for anxiety about the quality of the relations that in the past have assured a bilateral cooperation desired by both countries, in common accord, on a healthy, loyal, frank and sincere basis, removing the specter of meddling,

dependency harmful to the sacred principles of sovereignty and independence, to which Paris and Victoria have both been devoted.

To that form of cooperation, to that spirit, our country remains and will remain devoted as in the past, with all its partners without exception, without a priori, despite the unfortunate events which bear no relation to the relations between countries, between sovereign states.

However, it cannot subscribe to any form of bilateral relations that would lead sooner or later to giving up its independence, its sovereignty, its right to express its points of view and its national dignity, to which our people's attachment is especially strong.

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BOTHA DISCUSSES DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL STATUS

Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Dec 79 pp 1, 5

[Article by P. W. Botha: "New Horizons for South Africa"]

[Excerpts] In the beginning of autumn 1978 P. W. Botha succeeded J. B. Vorster after having been his defense minister for 12 years. A native of the Free State of Orange but the leader of the nationalist party of the province of Capetown, which is traditionally more liberal than Transvaal, he has already changed the terms of South African politics.

I find it particularly gratifying to be able to talk in this way about it to LE FIGARO readers and then through this magazine to the French, since even if many people in France are unaware of it, the French have played and continue to play a major role in our country since its beginnings.

Besides, France's responsibilities in Europe as well as Africa, politically, economically, in terms of ideas as well as in terms of facts, the volume of all categories of trade between our two countries (476 million rands of products imported from France in 1978!), common interests—despite what is sometimes said or not said about them: all this leads me to seize with pleasure and gravity the opportunity thus offered by the magazine to talk with all desirable sincerity and frankness of what is closest to my heart now—my country's future. And to do it—I am anxious to stress this point at the outset—not only as a political leader but as a South African, that is, as a man whose ancestors, having left Europe behind them, arrived here more than 3 centuries ago and who is as much at home in Africa with his people as any other African people.

It is true that the stake is great for our adversaries. First, because militarily South Africa's strategic position is vital for the defense and even for the survival of the West, since it guards the Cape route, the oil route, and since if the enemies of the West came to take control of the Republic of South Africa or even only to get a foothold in South-West Africa-Namibia they will have been given the possibility of interrupting communications on this route to Europe and the United States and thus of bringing them to their knees. This is also the stake because in the hypothesis

where Soviet imperialism would succeed in making South Africa swing into its zone of influence, the USSR would then control 80 percent of the world supply of gold, 76 of vanadium, 50 percent of uranium, etc.—all materials of vital strategic and economic importance. It is not superfluous to add to this list, among others, coal, of which South Africa is already the second supplier for France, South African exports of coal to which having been multiplied seven-fold in the last 3 years.

But, confronted by the enormous efforts being made now--and for years--by the USSR to dominate Africa, it seems that the West remains unaware or apathetic, as if its future, its existence were not at stake, as if it were not time--high time--to finally open its eyes. Of course, confronted by subversion in Zaire--and by the imminence of new massacres of Europeans and Africans--France was able to counter Kolwezi very brilliantly. But in this regard I would be tempted to write that the West has no clear and voluntary policy of responding to the Red menace on the African Continent.

in this respect I will not emphasize our military efforts here, recalling, however, that our defense forces, which are supported by our people's determination and by a modern and efficient national industry now constitute one of the principle independent powers of the world apart from the forces of the NATO countries, on one hand, and of the Warsaw Pact countries, on the other--a power which, if necessary, we will be able to use in order to protect our essential interests, our borders and our territory in its totality.

Beyond the military effort, and much more important, is our effort to develop South Africa, which I would like to broach now. We are striving to resolve our internal problems and, on the basis of a strong economy, to improve relations between the different populations in southern Africa, populations whose diversity makes our country one of the most complex in the world and even to make all of southern Africa—of which our country is clearly the principle component—progress economically and socially.

South Africa Is Changing

the type of "apartheid" which the enemies of South Africa have presented to the world as being the government's policy is dead. I am for the abolition of all offensive and needlessly discriminatory measures. Many are those which have already been abolished, and still others will be. Our objective is not to maintain the type of "apartheid" which is so frequently confused with government policy and which in fact constitutes a legacy of our colonial past. The true base of our policy is that of neighborliness based on mutual respect and the recognition of the rights of other people by everyone. Our goal is to reach as rapidly as possible a point where all the inhabitants of South Africa have complete enjoyment of their rights as cirizens, with full participation in the process of making the decisions which involve their well-being and their future, and that without consideration of race or color, with respect for the plurality of our situation.

Among some 25 million inhabitants, South Africa includes more specifically approximately four and a half million whites, two and a half million half-breeds, almost one million Indians and eight principle black nationalities, very different from each other and sometimes antagonistic. With them are nearly a million workers from foreign countries, forming a total population of approximately 16 million "blacks," a general term which does not any more correspond to real homogeneity than that of "Europeans" from Gibraltar to North Cape. It goes without saying, I repeat, that in a country with such a complex population there can be no question of establishing a unitary state where the different groups would not in fact have the institutional guarantee of being able to preserve and expand their diversities and respective personalities.

Those who criticize our policy of the development of independant states evolving within an economic community matched with agreements for mutual assistance in finance and defense and who claim that these states are not viable, disregard the considerable effort authorized by South Africa in order to aid in their development (an effort which puts our country in the first rank of those aiding developing nations). They are disregarding the facts—since the territories of most of these states possess mineral treasures and great possibilities for agricultural development; they finally are disregarding everything that is now being done in order to improve, indeed, to enlarge considerably, their established territories. The UN justly recognizes and admits countries such as Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, which in short are only the first of the black states of southern Africa, the first of former "black territories" to have gained independence. These states are, however, now and potentially less rich than, for example, Transkei, Bophutatswana (both of them independent but not recognized by the international community) or Kwazulu.

A Policy for Southern Africa

It is a fact that South Africa maintains trade relation, with a certain number of African countries who buy from us agricultural and manufactured products worth close to 600 million rands, and our exports to them increased by 34 percent during the past year. It is also true that trade with the countries of southern Africa-with our neighbors, primarily-is particularly intense and still intensifying, as shown by the recent accords concluded on transportation, the exportation of corn, manpower, etc.--even with countries which are ideologically opposed to us but are nonetheless associates and partners, economically.

This is why we think that, the goal being to let all develop in liberty and co-operation, South Africa can play an irreplaceable role. With its raw materials, its energy resources, its advanced technology—which enables it to approach the problem of new energy substitutes for oil successfully—and with its capacity to export essential agricultural products and with, moreover, its agronomic achievements, it can give a lot to this continent of which it is—by far—the major economic power and which is more and more threatened by malnutrition and famine.

We think that the formula of the future is that of a constellation of states in southern Africa. We are not unaware that this idea is encountering warm approval and lively opposition all at once, depending on the country or the man. But those who oppose it, often for reasons of ideology or propaganda, are at the same time trading with us and proving in practice that the community of interests is indeed already in existence and is constantly developing. We are well aware that in their overwhelming majority the African popuations, sorely tried by political and economic disorder, their prosperity ruined by what should indeed be called black racism—inspired from the exterior, desire peace and prosperity. Or even, simply, daily food above all. Confronted by the problem of overpopulation and famine, we, more than any other country on the continent, are prepared to help and to make Africa progress.

Objectivity and Understanding

Of course the times we are living in are not easy and set us many challenges. But we do not know how to accept these challenges. Increasingly aware of our responsibilities with respect to the free world and first of all with respect to ourselves, we are relying first and almost solely on our own forces. We want to live in peace and cooperate with everyone for the good of all of Africa and for the general progress of the world. We are prepared, however, to confront hostility in order to defend our essential interests, as any nation aware of its rights and responsibilities would do.

We ask for neither help nor approval. We ask first of all for objectivity and understanding, as can be expected, I think, from friendly countries which were allies during two world wars. As for the rest, I can say simply that more than on gold, diamonds, uranium, coal, chrome or any other material we are depending on resources which are no longer rare here and which, I venture to say, are determination and courage.

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NAFCOC PRESIDENT CALLS POLITICAL CONSTELLATION UNATTAINABLE

Johannesburg IHE CITIZEN in English II Jan 80 p 4

[Article by Camuel Dikotla]

[Jext]

THE National African Federated Chamber of Commerce maintained that a political union among the states would be an unattainable ideal, the president of the organisation. Mr Sam Motsuenyane, said this week

Addressing about 100 executive members of Nafcoc from different regions in the country at a Kempton Park hotel on Wednesday, Mr Motsuenyane said there were differences between South Africa and the neighbouring states of Southern Africa.

"Perhaps at best, only the homelands could at first agree or join the proposed constellation. Nafcoc has decided to hold in abeyance our plans for the development of the proposed Council for Economic Cooperation and Development."

The constellation of states is basically a political as well as economic concept that the Prime Minister tried to define at the meeting of business lead-

ers in Johannesburg last November

Nafcoc initiated dialogue with various chamber organisations in the Southern African countries such as Lesotho, Swamland, Malawi, Rhodesia, Botswana, Zambia and almost all the homelands

Mr Motsuenyane said Nafcoc's ideal was to foster the establishment of a Southern African organisation of chambers of commerce and industry that was to be called the Southern African Council for Economic Cooperation and Development

He reiterated that the objectives of a proposed council would primarily be economic and not political, adding that the Prime Minister's proposed constellation of states differed from Nafcoc's concept in that it was political and economic

Speaking about membership of coloureds and Indians. Mr Motsuenyane said although Nafcoc had for some time accepted white companies as associate members coloureds and Indians had not ve; been granted membership.

BOTHA TO CONTINUE CIVIL SERVICE REORGANIZATION

laternnesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 Jan 80 p 3

Article by Bill Cain

[Test] PRIME Minister P W Botha's massive civil service pruning is far from over. Senior public servants are being told that last month's announcement of plans to cut drastically the number of Ministries is only the first swing of his axe.

> "The Government is determined that this rationalisation pattern of departmentalisation will be implemented as quickly as possible," he says in a memorandum now being circulated to department beads.

> Mr Botha also indicates Cabinet changes around mid-year when the Public Service Commission has had a chance to

refine the re-organisation plan. He adds: 'Necessary changes and adjustments in the Cabinet will have to stand over until at least the end of the parliamentary session.

His 1 200-word guideline note leaves top men in no doubt that puring 30 central government institutio a into 18 Ministries is not just another wad of red tape looking for a Pretoria pigeon hole

He warns: "Implementation will be followed by a series of more detailed investigations aimed at the elimination of all forms of inefficiency and uncoordinated activity in central government service.

As soon as reorganising the Ministries is under way dozens of quasi-government and semiofficial organisations - such as Iscor, Escorn and 200 irrigation boards - will come under scrutiny.

He also gives strong hints in shifts of emphasis in saying "even more attention will be given to consumer affairs" and that the Public Service Commission will "investigate further the question of the degree of automomy which the education function should enjoy

Mr Botha opens his memorandom by saying that the pur-pose of the reorganization is to achieve more co-ordinated State departments that will give the public better service and utilise "scarce manpower" more efficiently.

Assurances have already been given that there will be no cutbacks in the 1.3-million public service workforce - an estimated 30% of the nation's workforce - as there are at present 12 000 vacancies in Governnment departments

"After penetrating discussion and consideration of all viewpoints the Government has decided that the existing 39 contral executive Gove mment institutions can with idvantage be reduced to 22 - which will fall under 18 Ministries," Mr Botha sava

He lists among ad antages: Improved service to the pubtic as there will be better coordination and fewer places to

• The new deal is based on 'scientific investigation and has been designed to meet the demands and requirements of the future";

• It will ensure efficient functioning through "a new man-agement level to be introduced into public service which will have the effect also of creating an exciting career prospect for public servants'

Details of this have still to be worked out but it seems that the new category of executives will be much higher paid for their expertise and work-load - as in industry and commerce

- with presently sadly lacking job motivation boosts filtering

down through the rasks;

The Prime Minister's office will be equipped to supply the need for a long-term develop-ment plan for the country and will incorporate the Statistics Department,

· There will be easily understood names so that businessmen and individuals will know exactly which Ministry to con-tact. Mr Botha says: "Names of some departments are lengthy The possibility of hav-ing shorter, descriptive names will be considered in due course"

 Tightening up of related agencies, such as Coloured Re-lations and Indian Affairs, by putting them under one root. A new Mineral and Energy Department is expected eventually to take in 'all the energy producing semi-government institutions

At the same time Government intends streamlining the legal system by sifting out irrelevant or outdated laws among 1950 Acts now in oper-

COLORED COUNCIL ALMOST CERTAINLY TO BE DISSOLVED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Jan 80 p 4

[Article by Ameen Akhalwaya]

[Text]

IT NOW seems certain that the Coloured Representative Council will be acrapped, or at least suspended, when its second five-year term expires at the end of March

Following the majority Labour Party's call for the scrapping of the CRC, the opposition Freedom Party's national council has recommended that the term should not be extended.

term should not be extended.

The Freedom Party is holding its annual conference in Port Elizabeth. The council's recommendation will be put to delegates today, and acceptance is regarded as a formality. The decision will then be conveyed to the Government.

conveyed to the Government.

At its annual congress in Port Elizabeth two weeks ago, the Labour Party reiterated its call for the CRC to be scrapped.

After the Labour leaders' stormy meeting recently with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botte, the Minister of Coloured Affairs Mr Maraia Steyn mid the CRC might be acrapped and its functions taken over by an interim committee until the Schiebusch Commission recommended a new constitutional dispensation.

The Freedom Party's acting leader, Mr Willie Africa, said yesterday the CRC was no longer effective. "The CRC has had its term of 10 years. We are convinced that whatever the CRC could produce has been done, but it is not effective any longer."

Mr Africa felt an interim committee should act as a representative body to look after certain interests of the coloured people antil the Government decided whether to continue with the CRC. A decision on the future of the CRC rests with the Government. The Minister of Coloured and of Indian Affairs, Nr Marais Steyn, is on heliday and could not be reached for comment.

While the coloured parties are seeking the closure or suspension of the CRC, the SA Indian Council has decided to seek an extension of its term.

Groups against the SAIC, such as the Natal Indian Congress and the Salidarity Front, have accused present SAIC members of being "scared" to contest elections scheduled for March 28.

However, the SAIC chairman, Dr Moolls, said the institution had not requested a postponement of elections, but "merely expressed a point of view, as we see it, which would be in the interests of the Indian people"

CSO: 4420

'POST' WELCOMES DECISION ON BLACK MANAGERS

Johannesburg POST in English 10 Jan 80 p 4

[Editorial]

Text!

THE Government's decision to scrap the permit system which will now make it possible for blacks to occupy managerial positions over whites is a welcome step.

A proclamation to this effect is soon to be published by the Department of Community Development.

The immediate impact of this move will be that opportunities for real decision making management positions will now be available to blacks without any restrictions. This, more than anything else, will pave the way where merit and not colour will become a criteria in which people will be judged when vying for positions.

For some years now we have expressed concern that restrictions which have the effect of blocking black advancement in commerce and industry only go a long way towards destroying the credibility of the free enterprise system. Not to mention the counter-productive effects it has on the economy.

This move can further enhance economic growth if blacks had restrictions removed barring them from trading from our city centres. It would be necessary to remove such laws as the Group Areas Act.

South Africa's full potential strength can never be realised until all of her people enjoy equal opportunities and our human resources are intelligently utilised.

This is why we think the removal of the barrier for advancement is a step in the right direction.

DURBAN NEEDS ADDITIONAL DRYDOCK FACILITIES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Penelope Morgan]

Text

INADEQUATE facilities at Durban harbour could add as

aired in a South Afr ock. It goes into Cap ry dock this week.

A spokeman for Salmarine says that in an effort to con-serve fuel and cut couts the ship will sail to Cape Town without a load.

The estimated cost of the four-day round trip for the un-loaded Winterberg is around the new.

Safmarine, South Africa's na-tional carrier, has five ships in it's container fleet. Only one,

able for ship repairs bec

Over the past three ye Cape Town dry dock has

mible date constuction cou pin to the "first half of 1881"

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COUNCIL PREPARING BUDGET -- The Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council will meet in Cape Town next month to finalise its budget recommendations before submitting them to the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. It is understood major attention will be focussed on the country's still worsening unemployment problem among urban blacks. This is not only seen as an economic problem but as a factor aggravating security. Stimulatory measures the council is expected to recommend are: [1] Incividual tax cuts; [2] The possible scrapping of the loan levy; [3] An easing of company taxation to swell expansion investment funds; [4] Stronger export incentives. Economists pointed out yesterday the Government was in the strongest position for more than 30 years to grant significant relief to taxpayers. That the council is likely to recommend tax cuts will mean little to the average black-wage earner, as he earns too little to benefit. Other ways of benefiting the lower income group and giving them a share in the gold bonanza will be found--possibly through cheaper basic foods and heavier subsidisation of urban transport. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Jan 80 p 3]

TRANSKEI YOUTH LEAGUE BAN--Transkei's State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has banned the newly established Transkei Youth League, according to a notice in a special government gazette published in Umtala yesterday. The one-month-old organisation, launched by Chief Matanzima's son-in-law, Mr Prince Madikizela, a practising attorney, at a conference here last month, condemned the independence of Transkei, saying the course of colonialism still ran powerfully in the country despite independence. The 35th organisation banned in Transkei in three months has been declared an unlawful organisation in terms of Section 26 of the Public Security Act.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg POST in English 8 Jan 80 p 3]

CSO: 4420

TRADE UNION ACTIVITY, LABOR STRIKES DETAILED

CSV Surveys Situation

Oungadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 28 Nov 79 pp 1, 8-10

[Excerpis] Contrary to what we announced in our weekendedition (see L'OBSERVATEUR, No 1735), it is finally on Monday evening that the CSV [Voltan Trade Union Confederation] held its informational and mobilizational meeting at the end of the 4-days' strike which we have just experienced.

Before an immense crowd of workers visibly satisfied with the second lap of their struggle and determined "to go all the way," the secretary general of the CSV, Soumaine Toure, with the spirit for which he is known, declared in substance what follows:

[Excerpts of Soumaine Toure's comments]

Comrade-workers of the CSV of Upper Volta,

We have Just concluded the second stage of our struggle for the demands of the five base unions of the CSV, namely, the SATV [Trade Union of Voltan Treasury Workers], STOV [Trade Union of Voltan Technicians and Workers], STOPAG [Trade Union of General Public administration Personnel], STAFAF [Trade Union of Financial Administration Personnel], and SNAID [National Trade Union of Tax and Estate Agents].

During these 4 days of strike from 20 to 23 November 1979 all the workers of the five tase trade unions gave evidence of admirable resolve.

During the 2 days of support strike called by the CSV on 22 and 23 November 1979, all the workers of our trade union confederation demonstrated what the militant solidarity of the workers meant in practice, except in a few rare covernment departments, that the workers followed in large numbers the strike order of our trade union confederation, thereby proving that no propaganda campaign, from whatever source and in whatever form, can halt our struggle any longer when it is democratically approved, democratically organized, and appropriately pursued.

As everyone knows, and even as those who wish to ignore it know, the 4-day strike of the five base trade unious--the SATV, STOV, SYNPAP, SYNPAC, and SNAID--like the 2-day general strike of the CSV was largely effective in Oungadougou as well as in the departmental unions.

Comrade workers of the CSV.

The struggle continues.

It will continue in the necessary forms, in the appropriate forms, with the necessary determination until the satisfaction of our just and legitimate demands.

Comrades, we must not allow ourselves to be intimidated by repressive measures, by propaganda and divisionary maneuvers.

The government of the Third Republic, which boasts so much and on all occasions of Voltan democracy, is already worried by the legal forms of the workers' struggle, namely, the strike.

Now, it is legal and just that when the workers are not pleased with the living and working conditions imposed on them they should go on strike, they should stop work to protest and demand better living and working conditions.

The government of the Third Republic would like to prohibit the right of the workers to stop working even when they are not satisfied with their coviitions. That is why initially the government wants to restrict the workers right to strike, thus dealing a new blow to democratic and trade union freedoms.

As i yet it is this same antidemocratic government of the Third Republic which declares subversively that it is we who affect adversely the Constitution and individual liberties.

Comrade workers.

we must continue our united struggle, we must continue our unified struggle because our demands are just.

dennydes.

Furn time that we begin a just struggle, each time that we mobilize on a large scale to defend our interests, each time that we rally the masses to our just cause, each time that we throw complete light on the maneuvers of division and propaganda to which the workers are subjected, the lamizana regime declares in subversive fashion that the workers play politics.

Right away its henchmen, its lackeys, its flunkeys start to become active, to become agitated.

Some spread rumors to try to distort the workers' struggle while others seek to denigrate the trade union leaders.

And in their division of labor they use every means.

Some write in newspapers which are in their pay while others circulate tracts in vulgar, slanderous, and defamatory manner.

They naively intend in this way to discredit our struggle, to divide and isolate our trade union leaders.

Since our strike of 20 and 21 March 1978 tracts have been circulating constantly to undermine our struggles and try to discredit our trade union leaders, attacking them in completely reactionary, regionalist, tribalist, and chauvinistic manner.

They do so in a way that is truly worthy of those who are responsible for this country's backwardness, for the poverty of the workers and the Voltan people.

The workers know now that this kind of pamphlets appear only at the time of their struggle and originate only from their enemies and that these deserve only the workers' contempt.

Workers of Upper Volta, let us continue to be mobilized and united, let us close our ranks to demand from the government the resumption of negotiations for the satisfaction of our just demands.

But if the government of the Third Republic should insist on suspending negotia ions, on halting discussions, it will bear the heavy responsibility before the workers and before history.

From CSV to USTV

Casgaio agou L'OBSERVATEUR in Frence 13 Dec 79 pp 1, 5

[Text] Five tase trade unions affiliated with the CSV [Voltan Trade Union Confederation], namely, the SATV, STOV, SNAID, SYNPAF, and SYNPAG, struck at midnight yesterday for the third time in 2 months totaling 10 days "to obtain from the government of the Third Republic better working conditions beginning with life in dignity."

This was decided or rather confirmed during a meeting held yesterday evening, 12 December 1979, at the labor exchange of Ouagadougou by the trade unions concerned, presided by the trade union confederation and which brought together the rank and file.

Scheduled for 1730 hours, said meeting in effect got under way only an hour later.

The organizers apologized for it and explained that the delay involved was due to the fact that that afternoon, at 1600 hours, they had been summoned by the Minister of Finance to be told what they had already heard.

Accordingly, as gratified as they were at the resumption of the dialog, the organizers refused to cancel the strike directive for, they held, it was too late to give notice to the workers across the national territory. Besides, it was still verbal promises that were involved.

Soumane Toure, national secretary general of the CSV, the second speaker of the evening, before explaining why the workers have a syndical duty to continue their struggle with determination, began with a severe warning against police provocations because, he said, one of their comrades, for preventing a tape recording by the police at a workers' meeting, was summoned to state security police headquarters and was told that "if ever our tape recorder is damaged, that will be the end of trade unionism in Upper Volta."

Taking numerous examples from the trade union struggles in Upper Volta to exhort the activists to courage, determination, and vigilance, Soumane Tourse opposed with rare vigor what he characterized as "favorite methods of the Lamizana regime, which are exploitation and rot."

By way of conclusion Toure asserted that "the workers also have a stake--that of trade union maturity for real social justice in Upper Volta."

Now let us turn to the USTV [Voltan Workers Trade Union Federation].

Indeed, the special congress of this organization was held on 7 and 8 December 1979 at the Workers' Educational Center in Ouagadougou. To judge by the effect provoked among the participants at the congress by the discussions which took place behind closed doors, this congress will make an indelible impact on the history of the USTV, both by virtue of the atmosphere in which the activists accomplished their mission and because of the results obtained. What had been sought in the holding of this congress was a change that could bring out from lethargy this vigorous trade union federation. The latter was able to form a memorable image during the noteworthy times of the Voltan trade union struggle. That was not easy but at any rate everyone was expecting it.

Too, people were not astonished to see for the first time in trade union history in general and that of the USTV in particular, law-enforcement agents, their weapons in hand, take over the Workers' Educational Center and proceed to check the identities of those attending the congress. But that did not intimidate anyone.

It is therefore in an atmosphere of suspicion that the congress got under way early last Friday morning under the presidency of the USTV's secretary general, Zoumana Traore.

Once the opening ceremony came to an end the meeting was suspended but was scheduled to resume in the afternoon with the adoption of the agenda. Two committees were then to be formed: The committee of bylaws and that of workers' demands.

Through a change in the bylaws of the USTV, the secretary general was thus invited according to their provisions to offer his resignation because he no longer met the conditions required to form part of the executive. Indeed, it is provided in Article 21 of these bylaws that "political positions are incompatible with trade union responsibilities. Too, any member of the USTV's executive who accepted a political position (member of a political bureau, of the government, or of parliament) would be considered to have resigned.

The meetings also led to the adoption of a few motions and demands affecting the living conditions of the Voltan workers, of the situation in public health and education in Upper Volta. An executive composed of 23 members was also set up. The election of this executive whose makeup will be given was the most stormy and upsetting moment of the congress.

All those attending it however were gratified at the profession of faith expressed by the secretary general leaving office in keeping with the provisions which removed him from the USTV's executive at his completing 17 years of uninterrupted tenure. Thus, they dared to believe that the support and advice of this wise and well-worn trade unionist as the manin-the-street would say will not be lacking in the defense of the moral and material interests of the Voltan workers and in the survival of the first trade union organization of Upper Volta.

The special congress of the USTV included delegates from Koudougou, Bobo Dioulasso Banfora, Ouahigouya, and naturally from the capital. The following is the makeup of the new executive:

Secretary general: Boniface Somdah.

First deputy secretary general: Salif Ouedraogo.

Second deputy secretary general: Georges Kambiree.

Administrative secretary: Michel Bere.

First deputy administrative secretary: Olivier Ouattara.

Second deputy administrative secretary: Joseph Hema.

Secretary in the international department: Charles Ouedraogo.

First secretary for the private sector: Mamadou Nama.

Second secretary for the private sector: Jean Sebastien Bambara.

Secretary for the public sector: Mrs Claire Guigma.

Secretary for economic and social activities: Mrs Justine Ouedraogo.

Deputy secretary for economic and social activities: Mrs Christine Ganame.

Organizational secretary: Christophe Kabore.

First deputy organizational secretary: Paul Hema.

Second deputy organizational secretary: Alexis Sombougma. Third deputy organizational secretary: Boukary Fofana.

First secretary for training, workers' education, sports, and cultural

activities: Dama Baye.

Second secretary for training: [no name]

Second deputy secretary for training: Beli Neya.

First press secretary: Leopold Sawadogo.

Second press secretary: Ollo Dah.

Third press secretary: Robert Traore.

General treasurer: Souleymane Ouedraogo. Deputy general treasurer: Issa Coulibaly.

Three accounting commissioners: Oumar Guindo, Ismael Diallo, and Bruno

Ouedraogo.

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